



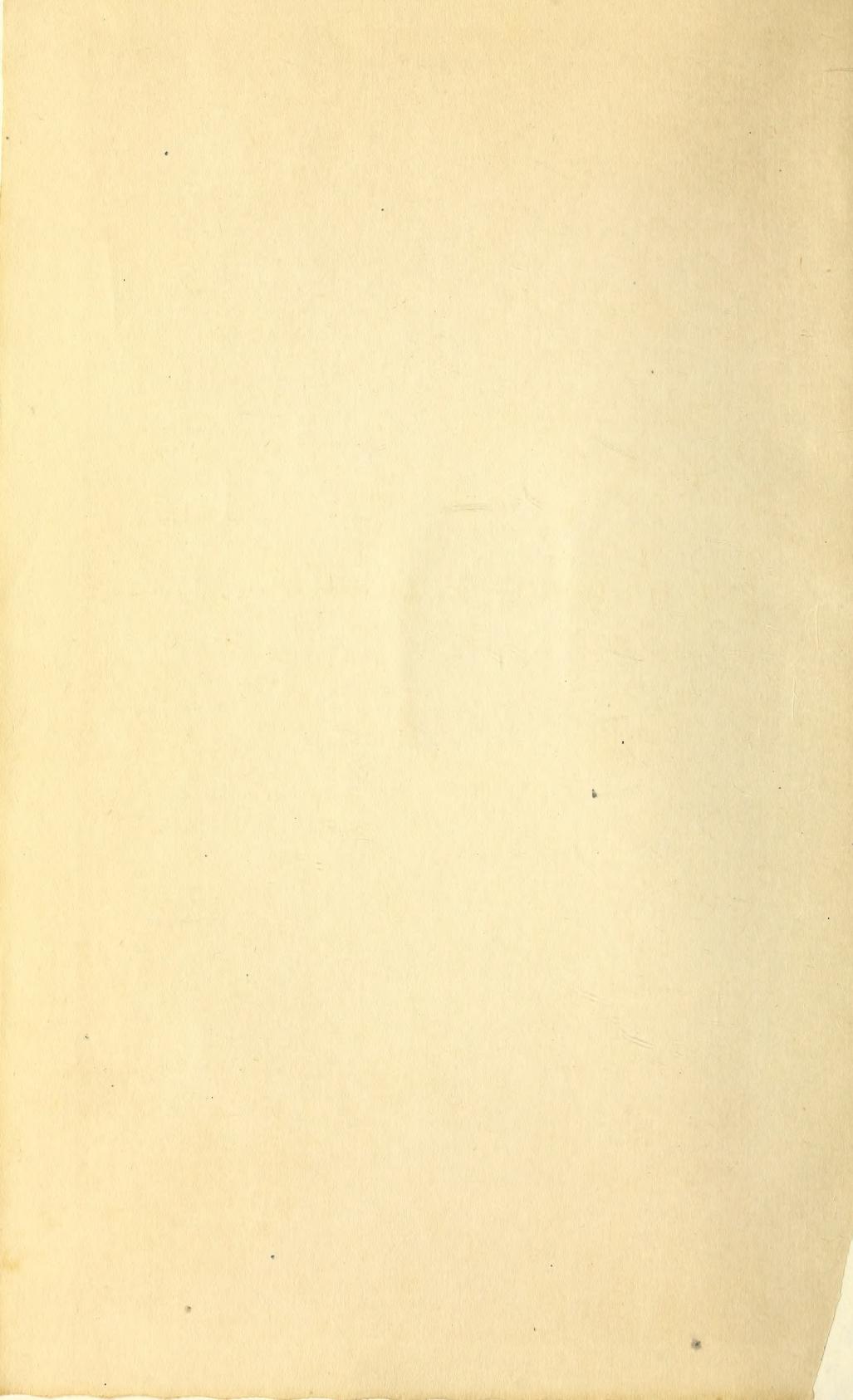


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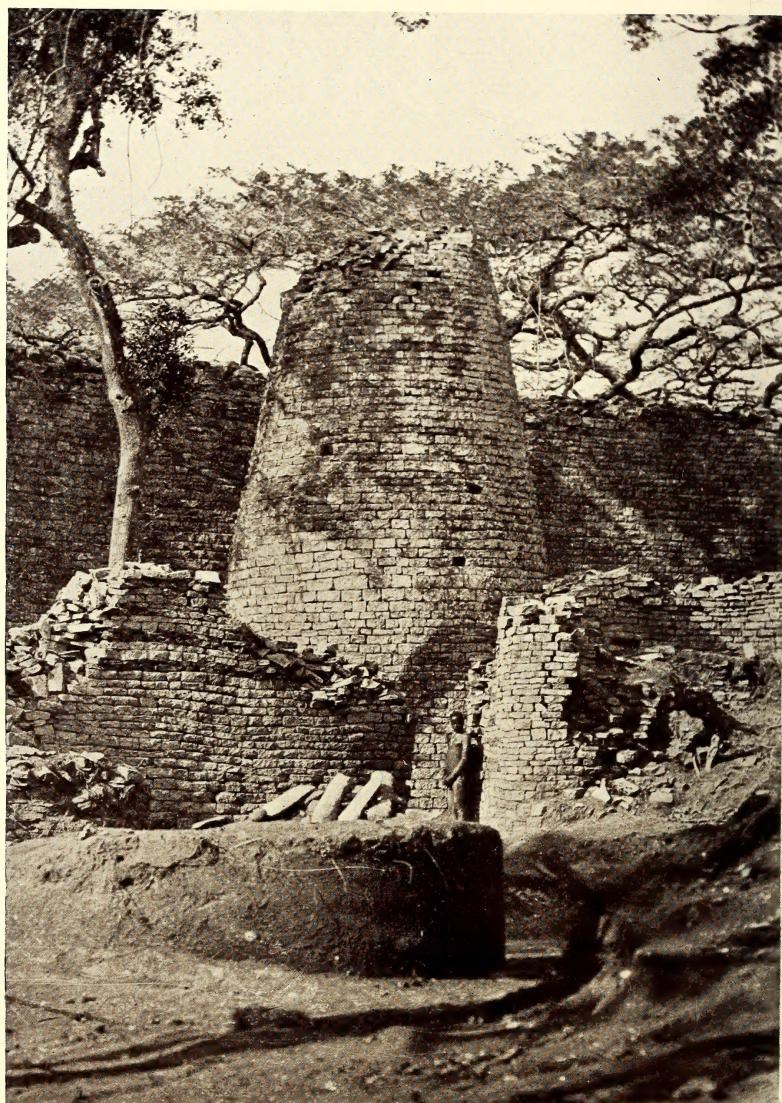
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WITH A

GAZETTEER OF MEDIÆVAL SOUTH-EAST AFRICA,
915 A.D. TO 1760 A.D.

AND THE COUNTRIES OF THE

MONOMOTAPA, MANICA, SABIA, QUITEVE,
SOFALA AND MOZAMBIQUE

BY

R. N. HALL

CO-AUTHOR OF "THE ANCIENT RUINS OF RHODESIA," AND AUTHOR OF
"THE GREAT ZIMBABWE, MASHONALAND"

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS AND PLAN

T. FISHER UNWIN

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THE DISCOVERER, TRANSLATOR AND COMPILER
OF THE
RECORDS OF SOUTH-EASTERN AFRICA
AND
AUTHOR OF WORKS ON THE BANTU

PREFACE

IN *Pre-Historic Rhodesia* the Author presents the first instalment of a reply to the conclusions of Dr. Randall Maciver concerning the Origin and Age of the Rhodesian Rock Mines and Buildings.

The author has referred his readers to his *Great Zimbabwe, Mashonaland*, for the detailed descriptions of these ruins, as it contains full particulars as to measurements, construction, and relics.

The views of the various buildings mentioned in the present volume are selected in order to show the contrast between the different types of buildings referred to. Readers are advised to carefully compare the illustrations of the buildings at Inyanga with those of the Zimbabwe Temple.

The author expresses his indebtedness to Mr. Franklin White, of Bulawayo, for the inclusion of some of his views of Zimbabwe in this volume.

Sincere thanks are also due to the many in South Africa—Heads of Native Departments of the South African Colonies, Keepers of Colonial Archives, Native Commissioners, Missionaries, Colonials, and Pioneer Settlers—who have so readily responded to the author's communications and given much first-hand information on ethnological and philological matters connected with this most interesting subject. The information so supplied is of the highest value, and such of it as is not utilised in this volume will appear in the succeeding one, the preparation of which has now been commenced.

The author must record his thanks to those south of the Zambesi who, being deeply interested in literary, scientific, and educational matters in South Africa, have so generously taken from him the burden of the expense of producing *Pre-Historic Rhodesia*. This mark of sympathy, interest, and support shown by South Africans is very greatly appreciated by the writer.

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PRE-HISTORIC RHODESIA

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Issue Joined.

IN Professor Maciver's two papers read respectively at Bulawayo and at the Royal Geographical Society's debate, and also in his *Medieval Rhodesia*, we have his complete case (1) against any suggestion of an intrusion of foreign influence into Rhodesia in any period of antiquity, "not earlier than some time in the eleventh century A.D.," (2) for the comparative modernity of the Rhodesian remains, the date of the erection of the Zimbabwe Temple being "not earlier than the fourteenth or fifteenth century A.D.," (3) for the purely native origin of the buildings—the work of "a negroid or negro race of African stock," and "characteristically African," and (4) that the relics, except the imported articles of post-medieval times, were also "characteristically African" and "not more than a few centuries old."

In stating these definite conclusions Professor Maciver is emphatic, positive, and in no small degree dogmatic, perhaps surprisingly dogmatic for a student in scientific research.

Still, who could have desired a clearer and more definite statement of issue? He came to Rhodesia, as he informs us, "to remove the uncertainty," and "to settle once and for ever" the Rhodesian enigma, and he has placed his final *Quod erat demonstrandum* to the problem presented by the

PRE-HISTORIC RHODESIA

Rhodesian ruins and mines. An opinion emanating from a scientific excavator should receive our most careful consideration, but it by no means follows that we are bound to admit it as correct without close scrutiny and study.

Conclusions not Final.

But his conclusions are not considered in the highest scientific circles of Europe and South Africa as being in any degree final. His are not the last words which will be said on this question. At the Royal Geographical Society's debate a disinclination was expressed against any definite and final conclusions being arrived at until more prolonged researches, covering a much larger area of country, should be undertaken, while there was a diversity of opinion expressed as to certain of the evidences on which such conclusions were based.

The discussion of the question of the origin or date of the intrusion into pre-historic Rhodesia is one in which I have never taken part. During the last ten years I have been too fully engaged in securing evidences from both mines and ruins, and though deeply interested in such a discussion, I have left that branch of the subject to others more qualified than I may be, to piece the evidences together. However, I have always impartially stated in encyclopædic form the opinions and "theories of probability" of all experts who have studied this question.

But on the question of the actual ruins and rock mines I have always consistently held that both the oldest types of ruins, and especially the rock mines, belong to some period of antiquity, and, further, that these did not originate with the unaided Bantu. Therefore, I fail to discover anything in what Professor Maciver has written to shake those conclusions. As I stated, now some seven years ago, and have repeatedly demonstrated on many occasions since, there are ruins belonging to some remote pre-historic times —such as those of the Zimbabwe type, also those of mediæval and post-mediæval times, and also those stone rampart walls of crude construction for which late Ma-Karanga must be held responsible. The same applies to

INDEBTEDNESS TO PROF. MACIVER

the mines, which show varying degrees of culture, the oldest displaying the greatest skill in mining.

Further, I have not attempted to follow Mr. Bent in claiming the oldest building or rock mine as evidence of the presence of any ancient Arab colony in Rhodesia, but have claimed the stone buildings as a resultant phase of an ancient intrusion of Asiatic influence, both Arabian and Western Indian, brought about by contact, covering centuries of time, in exploiting or trading for gold with some past occupiers of the country. This conclusion carries in its favour all expert mining opinion, and the support of all authorities on the Bantu.

Indebtedness to Professor Maciver.

I feel confident I but reflect the opinion of many in South Africa when I state, with the utmost frankness and cordiality, that all interested in the solution of the Rhodesian enigma readily acknowledge a debt of gratitude to Professor Maciver, however much we may disagree with his evidences and conclusions. He has in his most scholarly thesis brought many phases of the problem into prominence, and opened out fresh lines of investigation, and has stimulated further researches not only as to the main question involved, but also as to the related issues of this most intricate subject.

In a word, his conclusions are of so startlingly original a character that those holding diametrically opposite views on this subject are compelled to re-examine their evidences. Though the re-examination of such evidences as to an ancient Asiatic intrusion into Rhodesia only serves to effectually dispose of Professor Maciver's main conclusions, yet all must be deeply indebted to him for having provided the necessity for such re-examination.

Professor Maciver's "Field-survey."

It is, in the opinion of many both in Europe and South Africa, considered that, most unfortunately for Professor Maciver, his inspection had been far too brief to warrant his somewhat positive conclusions; that his researches

PRE-HISTORIC RHODESIA

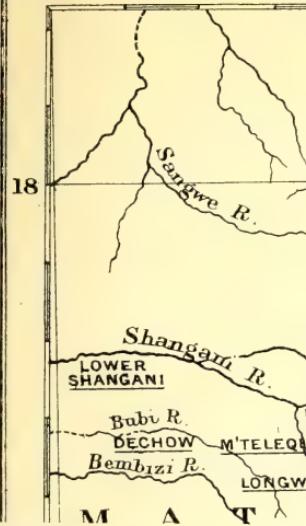
were not conducted over a large area of country ; that his stay at any one ruin was far too short to admit of anything approaching an exhaustive examination ; that he dealt with only seven ruins out of hundreds of all types ; that most of these seven ruins had years ago been shown to have no claim to any great antiquity ; that the stone buildings being but a resultant phase of an intrusion of foreign influence brought about by exploitation for gold in prehistoric times, the archæologist alone could not settle the Rhodesian problem ; that he himself had stated his visit to the country was too brief to enable him to make any examination whatever of the rock mines ; that he had declined, so Cape Colonial and Rhodesian scientific authorities averred, all proffered assistance from ethnological and philological experts in South Africa ; that his conclusions as to South African races and their customs were diametrically opposed to all the recognised standard authorities on this subject ; that having no previous acquaintance with South Africa he had misjudged even ordinary and elementary considerations affecting South African races ; and, finally, that many held he had prejudiced the fair discussion of his conclusions by the expression, even in the very earliest stages of his inquiry, even before he had visited Zimbabwe, of an undisguised bias against the views of Mr. Theodore Bent and Dr. Keane, and any conjectured Arab and Indian connection in remote times with Rhodesia.

Unexplored Ruins.

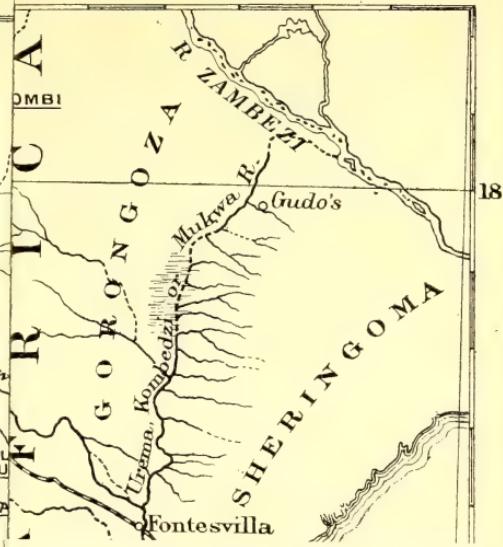
But the area over which the pre-historic rock mines are so thickly distributed is an immense tract of country some seven hundred by six hundred miles (1126×965 K.) at least. The railway runs through only a small portion of this extensive area, while there are huge territories containing ruins and gold mines far remote from any railway, and it would require a year or two for any one merely to visit such of the ruins as are of major importance, without allowing time for their proper examination.

Further, it must be borne in mind that not a single one

28

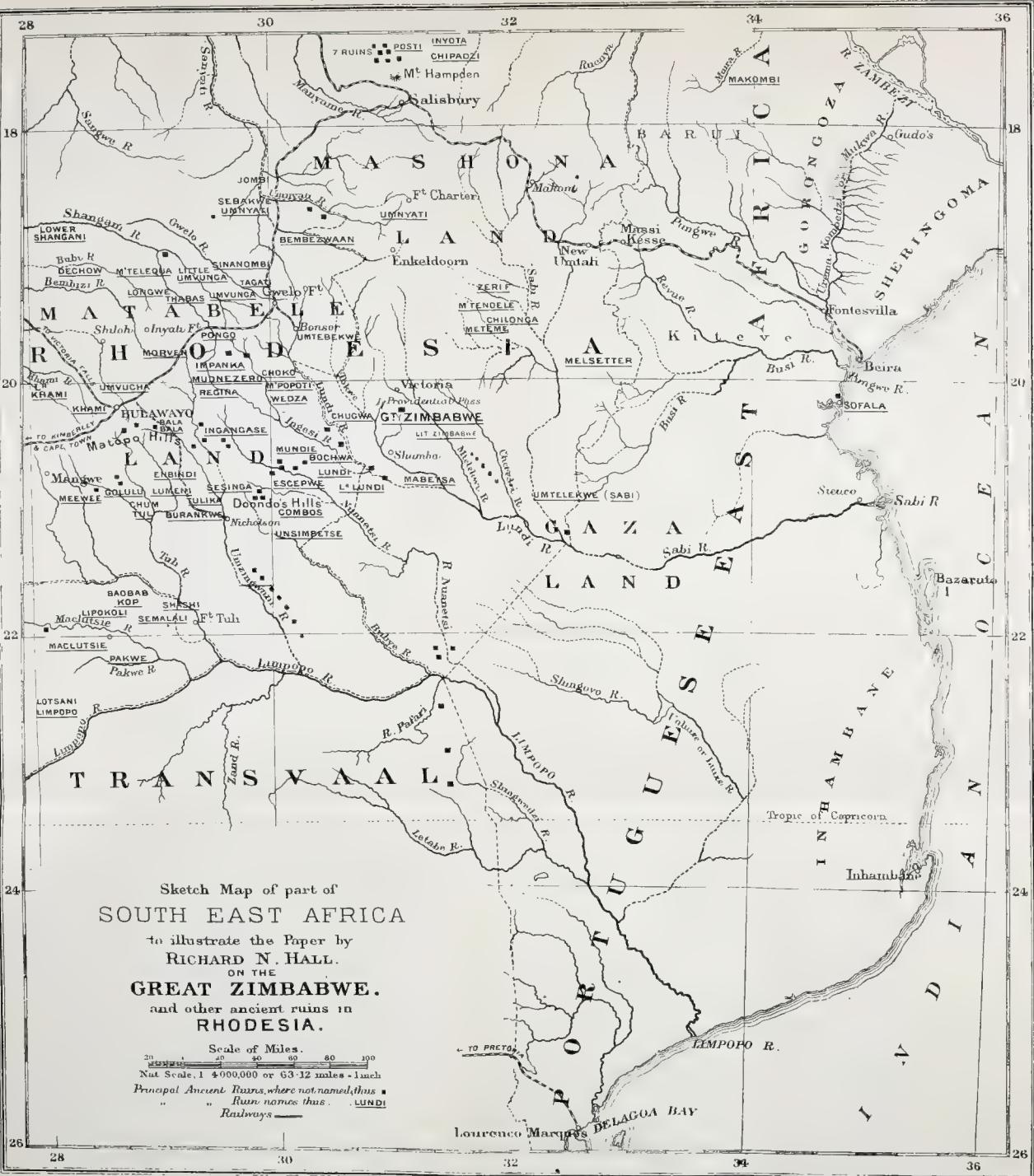


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18



Sketch Map of part of
SOUTH EAST AFRICA
to illustrate the Paper by
RICHARD N. HALL.
ON THE
GREAT ZIMBABWE.
and other ancient ruins in
RHODESIA.

Scale of Miles.
0 20 40 60 80 100
Nat Scale, 1:400,000 or 63.12 miles = 1 inch
Principal Ancient Ruins, where not named, thus
" " Run names thus.
Railways —

NO 'EQUALITY OF REMAINS'

of the hundreds of ruins in our country has as yet been examined. Not a tenth part of Zimbabwe itself has so far been explored, while there are several ruins covering larger areas than Zimbabwe, some believed to be even older than Zimbabwe. If, therefore, a small portion of Zimbabwe has yielded relics—stone birds on beams, phalli, "cup and ring" *linga*, immense soapstone bowls, and a wealth of most chaste gold ornaments, as to the origin of which antiquarians are by no means agreed, what may be anticipated when more of the ruins are examined? To dogmatise on such partial evidences is therefore most imprudent (see *Unexplored Ruins*, Chapter XIII).

Professor Maciver's Faulty Working Hypothesis.

But what is held to be a fundamental weakness in Professor Maciver's argument is the working hypothesis he has adopted. He claims that the culture displayed in rock-mining, stone-building, metal-working, and arts, as also the ceremonial practised at Zimbabwe, are the result of the "natural and gradual evolution" of the altogether unaided Bantu, for the Bantu were south of the Zambesi long prior to the datings he gives to such displays of culture. This, as is shown in Chapter VI, is an impossible hypothesis, by the adoption of which all his evidences and arguments are consequently vitiated. This substitution of evolution in culture for a decadence in a culture which was first introduced in an already perfected form, destroys the foundation on which his entire case rests.

He thus has to prove that there is an "equality of the remains," and that there were no "periods." But, as stated later, there were three "periods" in Rhodesia, and that in each period the type of building decidedly varies, each type building having its own individualised and specialised form of construction, and yielding respectively a class of relics only found in such particular type of building. The periods were : (1) the Pre-historic period of the rock mines, the Zimbabwe type of building with its ceremonial practices, and the very general use of chaste gold ornaments, all demonstrating culture in its most perfected

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form ; (2) the Historic period of the river sand-washing for gold, with a crude form of building and a marked decadence in all the arts, brass, iron, and copper ornaments only being in use ; (3) a late period, with Ma-Karanga stone rampart walls, extending down to the last fifty years.

Datings of the Zimbabwe Temple.

The evidences opposed to the acceptance of his "datings" of the Elliptical Temple of Zimbabwe are founded on historical, ethnological, and archaeological grounds, and these are set forth in the following chapters.

The Phenomena.

Rhodesia, as is well known, presents certain phenomena or outstanding features which are not to be found anywhere in Africa south of the Great Lakes. These are—

- (1) The most extensive gold mines sunk to depth on rock yet known to the world,
- (2) Many scores of colossal stone buildings,
- (3) A form of ceremonial unknown among any past or present Bantu people,
- (4) Semitic impressions of some period of antiquity found in the Ma-Karanga, and
- (5) The presence of non-indigenous plants and trees, mainly of Indian origin.

All these phenomena are displayed on one definable area only, and all are associated together.

In *Pre-Historic Rhodesia* we shall examine the history of South-eastern Africa from 915 A.D., seeking some explanation for the presence and origin of these phenomena. We shall also examine the local evidences presented by rock mine, building, and Bantu, and failing to find from all these sources any explanation of the origin of the phenomena, we shall be entitled to claim for them a prehistoric origin, that is, that they date from some period long prior to 915 A.D. The author's conclusions as to the origin and age of the Rhodesian remains are stated at the end of Chapter XII.



Photo]

[*Elliott & Fry.*

DR. GEORGE MCCALL THEAL.

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APPRECIATION OF MR. BENT'S WORK

Dr. George McCall Theal.

In preparing these pages I have been greatly assisted by Dr. Theal, to whom I have dedicated this work as a token of my deep regard and affection. When, single-handed and during periods of isolation, I was prosecuting researches as to subjects where there were no trodden paths to follow and no blazed trees to guide, Dr. Theal has by his constant and never-failing encouragement, sympathy, and advice, provoked me to still further effort. During months of protracted convalescence from malaria contracted at Zimbabwe, I have made full use of his unique and extensive library of South African works and papers, and have drawn considerably on his sterling scholarship and his monumental knowledge of the Bantu and other South African people.

The late Mr. Theodore Bent.

One striking and most gratifying feature of the controversy which lately raged round the grey-lichened walls of the Zimbabwe Temple, is the widely-increasing appreciation in which the work of Mr. Bent is held. His grasp of ethnological matters in South Africa places him high in the estimation of all authorities on the Bantu. His archæological work at Zimbabwe stands witness to most careful, exact, and unbiased investigation. This is noticed by every visitor to the ruins. His book may contain "formal defects," but his main conclusions stand unshaken, *i.e.* that the culture was originally introduced from Asia at some period of pre-Islamic times.

Professor Sir William Ramsay's high appreciation of Mr. Bent's archæological researches in Asia Minor, South-east Africa, and Southern Arabia, which he expressed in the columns of the *Athenæum*, and also more recently expressed publicly at Aberdeen immediately after Professor Maciver's conclusions were announced, but reflects the appreciation of Mr. Bent's work felt to-day by the most prominent and most highly-qualified scientists of Great Britain. As time elapses, and further explorations are carried on

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in Rhodesia, this appreciation must yet become more intensified.

Mr. Bent's kindly and genial nature completely won the hearts of the early Rhodesian settlers, who will always associate his name pleasantly with the country's Pioneer Days.

Dr. S. Passarge.¹

Though Dr. Passarge is undoubtedly an acknowledged authority on the ethnology of certain South African native peoples, it is only since Professor Maciver's "final solution" of the Rhodesian problem was announced that Dr. Passarge has dealt with the question of the origin of the Zimbabwe-culture.

It will be recollectcd, as can be seen in *The Ancient Ruins of Rhodesia*, that the late Mr. W. G. Neal and myself claimed, now some eight years ago, that the cult of stone-building was first introduced into this country in its more perfected form, and that after a certain very lengthy period of display it had gradually deteriorated until it became thoroughly Kafirised, and was only represented in rudely piled-up ring rampart walls of native cattle kraals, villages, and hill defences, the plan of all these decadent structures being, without exception, wholly fortuitous.

The overwhelming evidences pointing to this conclusion, which Mr. Neal and I furnished in that volume, were obtained from sources which were entirely independent of those upon which Mr. Theodore Bent founded similar conclusions. Mr. Bent worked in Mashonaland. Mr. Neal and I worked in Matebeleland. Our Matebeleland evidences were obtained from scores of ruins—some being of major importance, which we described in detail in our book, the greater number of which either Mr. Neal or myself was the first European to discover and locate.

By comparing ruins, reconstructions, and additions, and also by comparing the articles of "subsequent squatters" found in the huge banks of débris deposited within the

¹ Author of *De Kalahari* (Berlin, 1904), *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari* (Berlin, 1907), *Südafrika* (Leipzig, 1908).

AN IMPORTED CIVILISATION

ruins, with those of the original occupiers found on the lowest floors, we unhesitatingly declared that our reports on buildings and relics demonstrated beyond all possible doubt not only that "periods" existed and that culture had changed, but that there was no "equality of remains," that the art of building in dressed stone was not resultant of any "natural evolution of building" on the part of the altogether unaided Bantu, and that the cult had originally been introduced on to this particular area of South-east Africa only, from Asia in some far back remote time. Such were the results of our joint field-survey in Matebeleland only.

Five years ago, and after the publication of *The Ancient Ruins of Rhodesia*, and after the much-regretted demise of Mr. Neal, I went, at Mr. Rhodes' suggestion, made by him during his last illness, to work at Zimbabwe. But the evidences obtained by me at Zimbabwe, while working there for almost three years, were exactly identical in all respects with those previously obtained by Mr. Neal and myself in Matebeleland, except in one point, that was, that the period of the occupation by "subsequent squatters" at Zimbabwe covered several centuries more time than was the case at any one of the Matebeleland ruins.

The evidences presented at Zimbabwe of an intrusion of foreign influence having taken place in some most remote times were and are as clear as the African sun at noonday. In the following chapters I shall demonstrate that Professor Maciver's "final solution" is absolutely untenable, it being directly controverted by historical, ethnological, and archæological considerations.

However, Dr. Passarge being, by scientific study of first-hand evidences, well acquainted with South African natives, is qualified to give an opinion. In *Globus* (Berlin : Band XCI, Nr. 15., 229-232) he writes—

"The development [in building] may have been a retrograde instead of a progressive one. The complicated style of building found at Zimbabwe, and which originally may have served purposes of worship, may have dissolved itself into a simple ring-wall, under circumstances which changed

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its original purpose, and thus it may have become a mountain-fort.

"If we ask, which explanation is the more likely in Africa, the answer must most certainly be in favour of the latter idea. Surely it is an undoubted characteristic of the history of civilisation in Africa, that foreign civilisations, which have been introduced into that continent gradually dissolve themselves and become lost !

"From everything we know about the history of civilisation in Africa, it is most improbable that the Zimbabwe culture is a product of African soil. Even among the very best native tribes of Africa we never meet with similar stone buildings. Hence I am inclined to believe that this civilisation, like so many other things, has been imported from outside.

"There is nothing to show [in Professor Maciver's book] that Hall and Neal were superficial and careless examiners."

"Characteristically African."

All South African ethnologists, from Dr. Livingstone's time to the present day, have carefully differentiated in the matter of the culture of the South African native. For instance, Dr. Passarge (*Suidafrika*, p. 217) considers the culture of South African natives under four distinct headings, viz.—

- (1) Der heutige ursprungliche Kulturbesitz.
- (2) Die prahistorische Steinzeit.
- (3) Die alte Simbabyekultur (which he considers to be Asiatic in origin).
- (4) Die europäische Kultur.

In so doing Dr. Passarge, while further strengthening by fresh evidences the case for such differentiation, but reflects the views of all standard writers on this subject, most of whom in widely separated parts of South Africa have devoted their whole lives to the study of the culture of the native. But in *Mediæval Rhodesia* Professor Maciver brusquely lumps all the varied phases of Bantu culture, whatever their originating sources, their forms and degrees may

'CHARACTERISTICALLY AFRICAN'

have been, into what he terms "characteristically African," or "not differentiated from the present Kafir," terms which to-day are, from a scientific point of view, wholly inapplicable, just as is the term "Kafir," which is to be found on every page of that volume. To the ordinary visitor from Europe to these regions all the culture noticeable may well be "characteristically African" and "Kafir," but not possessing any first-hand knowledge of the native or of his culture, or of the originating sources of such culture, or of the influences from outside which both in pre-historic and historic times have moulded it, such a misconception on the part of a visitor may well be pardoned.

Anthropologists show that Semite and Indian, and to some extent northern Hamite, influences have played their part in moulding the physical features of the south-eastern Bantu. Philologists, such as Bleek, Stow, Torrend, Grout, Bryant, and Van Oordt, further demonstrate that Asiatic influences from the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf and Western India, exerted in most remote times, have left decided impressions on the languages of certain of the eastern and south-eastern Bantu tribes. Historians record the intrusion on this area of the influence of Arab, Persian, and Indian, which extended back to some altogether indefinite time prior to 900 A.D. Therefore, to classify the various forms and degrees in which the culture of the southern Bantu is displayed as being "characteristically African" is not only incorrect, but altogether unwarranted.

For instance, what resultant phases of the Zimbabwe culture in stone-building, rock-mining, ceremonial, arts, and industries are to be met with in South African native tribes? Already these are plentifully found existing to-day engrafted at some pre-historic period on the primitive culture of the Bantu of South-east Africa, and where discovered they have been ascertained to have very considerably modified what was no doubt the degree and form of culture of the aboriginal native. But this inquiry is still in its infancy, notwithstanding that such modifications have already, in large measure, been clearly established.

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The modifications in culture consequent upon the Asiatic intrusions far back in pre-historic times are none the less marked, notwithstanding the great lapse of time since the foreign influences were exerted. These modifications are known to extend from the integral food of the Bantu to their weapons, implements, and industries, and also to their forms of speech, religious ideas, customs, and physical features. It is, therefore, most essential, in the interest of scientific research in South Africa, that the differentiation of the varied forms of culture should be fully recognised by investigators. Mere nonchalant assertion that all forms and degrees of native culture are "characteristically African" or "Kafir" does not carry the question nearer a solution.

The culture of the Bantu varies both in form and degree. For instance, in its form, certain arts and industries of high order are peculiar to certain tribes, and are unpractised by others. This has been the case from time immemorial. Bantu philologists demonstrate that the grammar and vocabulary of certain tribes denote a far higher degree of culture than is found in other tribes whose grammar is elementary and whose vocabulary is limited. Anthropologists prove that the physical features, size of brain cavity, and shape of head of certain Bantu people present superior traits not to be found among certain other tribes. But the culture of the Bantu also varies in degree. The whole bibliography of South African works teems with evidences of marked variation in degree in culture. No one can live ten years among any Bantu people without discovering for himself, and on his own evidences, that certain tribes excel in culture while others are surprisingly deficient in its possession. As Mr. Dudley Kidd shows, "The various Bantu tribes, in common with European nations, differ among themselves, and are found to be in very different stages of development and culture" (*Kafir Socialism*, p. 134). One instance, of many, of varying degrees in culture may be cited. The Pondo is on the lowest rung of Bantu culture. The Zulu is more intelligent and energetic than the Pondo. The native of Delagoa Bay is

NO BANTU RENAISSANCE

again smarter than the Zulu, while the Karanga, Sena native, and Shiré native are all on a higher rung than even the Zulu. Therefore, when considering the origin, or the form, or the degree of culture of the South African native, the expressions "characteristically African" and "Kafir" are altogether inapplicable.

Decadence in Bantu Culture.

The decadence of the native, a process which has been in operation for very many centuries, and is noticeable to-day, is admitted by all authorities. Nor is there any evidence pointing to a contrary conclusion provided by ethnological research. Certainly, there has been no evolution of the Bantu within historic times, that is, since 900 A.D. The Bantu are not a progressive people. Nor is it possible that the primitive Bantu of mediæval times had the capacity to suddenly evolve, without the slightest influence from outside, the *renaissance* which resulted, so Professor Maciver claims, in the Zimbabwe Temple and the oldest rock mine. "We know," says Mr. Dudley Kidd (*Kafir Socialism*, p. 231), "that since the sixteenth century the Kafirs have not progressed in civilisation to any marked degree. If anything, the native races of South Africa have sunk in the scale. They still live in the same rude type of hut that their ancestors lived in centuries ago, and have lost much of the arts and crafts in which they once excelled. Certainly, a very strong case can be made out for the belief that the Kafirs as a race are incapable of rising in the scale." There is no need to labour this aspect of the matter.

But the originating cause of the non-progressive characteristics of the Bantu is at present unexplained, while we find a further and a related problem still awaiting solution. This further mystery lies in the sudden arrest of intelligence and mental development, which, with exceedingly rare exceptions, befalls every member of the Bantu family on arriving at the age of puberty, for while the body continues for years to develop splendidly, the mind, the imagination, the logical processes, the higher regions of

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intelligence, all seem to suffer from a blight. The solution of one problem may possibly suggest the solution of the other. At any rate, the existence of these unsolved problems should make the inquirer very tardy of accepting Professor Maciver's assertion that the *renaissance* of the Bantu of mediaeval times was purely "local" and "characteristically African," and was not brought about by contact with any Asiatic people. "The Super-Kafir has," states Mr. Dudley Kidd, "never yet made his appearance."

The South African Bantu.

In employing the term Bantu to any people mentioned in this volume, the expression must not be understood as denoting any racial or physical type of Negro or Negroid, but simply as identifying those natives who speak Bantu languages. These are now divided by the philologist into divisions, which divisions correspond to a large extent with the distinctive physical and ethnological characteristics of the different tribes of these people.

In dealing with the Bantu in South Africa it must be borne in mind that most standard writers draw attention to the physical characteristics which differentiate these people among themselves. These may be stated as falling into two divisions. In a purely tentative sense the suggestions of "Nilotic" type and "Black or Forest" type are ordinarily put forward by various writers, the former term implying an origin or connection in very remote times with North-east Africa, the latter an origin in or prolonged connection with the central and forest regions of Equatorial Africa. Such designations as "Nilotic" and "Forest" types could therefore only be employed in an exceedingly general sense, these being based on the conjectures of students that the former were people who originally arrived from the drier and more elevated country of the north-east, and that the black colour of the skin of the latter is attributable to a most prolonged occupation in the forest regions of Central Africa. Be this as it may, whatever the respective origins may have been, and whatever scientific name may at some future time be bestowed



THE HON. A. WILMOT, M.L.C., AUTHOR OF "MONOMOTAPA,
ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL RHODESIA."

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DISTINCT TYPES OF BANTU

on these respective types, the distinctive physical features of each remain. For the present, the author prefers to designate these types as "Lighter-skinned" or "Black-skinned."¹

(1) *Lighter-skinned*.—Medium height, often tall, long-legged, not full-fleshed, smooth skin of lighter colour, small hands and feet, narrow hips, refined facial features with aquiline noses and thin lips, higher intelligence, superior instinct, decided mechanical ingenuity, tendency towards industrial pursuits—mainly agriculture, peaceful, and far less nomadic in their tribal movements. These features in combination being suggestive to many writers of a rill of northern blood, considered by Sir H. H. Johnstone to be northern Hamite, circulating in their veins, while certain features can only be explained by a contact with Asiatic people at some remote time after their southward movement had begun.

(2a) *Black-skinned*.—Tall, big, robust, well-fleshed, black negroids, rough coarse skin, inferior facial features more approaching the popular conception of a negro, low intellectual capacity, tendencies wholly warlike and invariably barbarous.

(2b) The same distinctive characteristics, save that these negroids are shorter in stature, have shorter legs, and are broader shouldered and more robust in proportion to their height.

These two last subdivisions of the "Black" type south of the Zambesi comprise the tribes of the *ama-* prefix, and are found in distinct main tribes, all of which have followed the same southward line of migration from the Zambesi, *i. e.* the extreme south-east or lower coast portions of the sub-continent, and not inland from the eastern side, except as shown in the records of 1505–1760, where they were interlopers (such as the Mongasi and Ba-Tonga), or at any rate not as permanent occupiers, but whose arrival inland was relatively late. But the direction from which

¹ "There are several types of coloration in the case of Kafirs—a fact that might be borne in mind by investigators" (*Kafir Socialism*, p. 255).

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the "Light-skinned" type arrived at the Zambesi was north-east, and these took their location on the inland central plateau of Southern Rhodesia, having the *ama*-prefix tribes, the Zulu and Kosa varieties, between them and the Indian Ocean.

But between these two types there have been some relationship in remoter times when far to the north, and since their arrival south other relationships between them have intervened. For instance, at a village of one type it is quite possible to notice a few representatives of the other physical type, still both types are mainly located in different territories.

The Black negroids were far more rapid in their various progressive migrations to the south, and having reached the limit in this direction, shed off back-flow waves of migrations to the north and north-west, coming in contact with the "Light-skinned" negroid (Ma-Karanga) on the central plateau of Southern Rhodesia. But the "Light-skinned" type is not essentially migratory. Its movements are rare and occur after prolonged periods of settlement. The Ma-Karanga crossed south of the Zambesi and settled for the best part of one thousand years on the territory they occupy to-day, but shedding off in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries minor waves to the hinterland of Inhambane, to the Limpopo and Natal. Being of peaceful and industrious nature, and not possessed of such pronounced nomadic tendencies, they suffered all the discomfitures of the various migrations of the other type both to the south and later returning in sections to the north. These later movements are matters of history dating from 1505.

A Necessary Caution.

But the old Portuguese writers had noticed the same distinctive physical and mental features on the one hand of the Ma-Karanga and on the other of the "Black" or *ama*-prefix tribes, and these peculiarities of each are described in the records very fully and as correctly as we could describe them to-day.

TWO NECESSARY CAUTIONS

Therefore, the reader of the following pages must bear in mind that the Ma-Karanga, with which people the records are most concerned, were in their physical and mental characteristics quite different to the Ba-Tonga and Mongasi who in 1505 represented some of the *ama-* prefix tribes, the Zulu and Kosa varieties of to-day. The Ma-Karanga are not of the Zulu or Kosa variety, but are, as shown later, related in race, language, customs, and arts to the Nyanja of Nyassa.

The Zulu is exceedingly well-known and is very prominent in all books on South Africa. In fact, so much is known concerning him that popular conception has marked him out as the typical negroid of South Africa, and, in grave error, judges of every other tribe by their understanding of the Zulu. But to read the old records aright one must for the time altogether forget the Zulu type, except when the Ba-Tonga and Mongasi are referred to. One must not read into the Karanga customs, ideas, and even derivations given in the records what one knows of the customs, ideas, and language of the Zulu, notwithstanding there is much that may be common to all Bantu people. The Zulu does not and cannot interpret the Karanga. With the more intimate knowledge of the Ma-Karanga, which in very recent years the philologist and ethnologist, as well as the records, have placed at his disposal, the reader may now peruse the records to far better purpose than he could possibly have done but a decade ago.

East and West Coast Natives. A Further Caution.

Nor are the eastern and western negroids to be treated altogether as a whole on any hard-and-fast lines, seeing that on each coast the foreign influences exerted upon each have been totally distinct, both in origin and period. On the coasts of Zanzibar, Mozambique, and Sofala there have been successive intrusions of Persian, Arabian, Indian, and Red Sea influences for centuries and in most remote times, while on the west coast there have been those of the late Moors and still later Portuguese. Moreover, between

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eastern and western natives there are various distinctive features, racial and physical, as also in religion and culture.¹ Nor has the evolution of the eastern and western native developed on even lines and schemes or simultaneously. It is held by competent writers who speak with a first-hand knowledge of the natives of both coasts that the theory of analogy of natural evolution in each region is completely inapplicable. Certainly, it is a misleading habit of thought to interpret the eastern negroid by the western, for no west coast evidences can parallel the leaps in progress after millennia of stagnation, and the throwbacks to barbarism, which have been the great outstanding features of the eastern negroid, these leaps in progress and subsequent throwbacks being resultant respectively of the intrusion of foreign influences and their ultimate exhaustion.

Therefore, to base dogmatic conclusions concerning the eastern negroid on one's experiences of the western negroid is impossible. The futility of such a method of reasoning is pointed out a score of times by Dr. Livingstone, who knew the natives of Angola as also those of the Mozambique and Lake regions. For instance, "This form of face [Semitic] is very common in this country [South-east Africa], and leads to the belief that the true type of the negro is not that met with on the west coast, from which most people have derived their ideas of the African" (*Expedition to the Zambesi*, p. 501). Again, "It is on the west coast alone that idols are really worshipped in Africa" (*Last Journals*, Vol. I, p. 239). On this point he is most insistent, as also are more recent writers, who speak with an intimate knowledge of the natives of both regions, and who have approached the subject with scientific method.

To judge correctly of the eastern negroid one must first take off the "West African spectacles," and describe him exactly as he is to be found, with the added knowledge that his environment has been vitally affected at different

¹ "Certain native [South-east African] customs are probably the remains of the secret arts which prevailed among Arabs before Mahomet appeared. These Swaheli Arabs appear to have come down the coast before that prophet was born" (Livingstone's *Last Journals*, Vol. I, p. 218).

A SOUTH AFRICAN ETHNOLOGIST

periods from remote times by intrusions of certain Asiatic influences to which the western negroid has never been subjected.

The Late Geo. Wm. Stow, South African Ethnologist.

In concluding this brief introduction to *Pre-Historic Rhodesia*, the author would draw attention to the posthumous work of the late Mr. Stow, *Native Races of South Africa*, edited by Dr. G. M. Theal. "This work," says Professor Robert B. Young, of University College, Johannesburg, "is acknowledged to be the most valuable contribution to our knowledge of the native races that has as yet appeared, and forms in itself a lasting monument to Stow, and adds to the debt of gratitude which all who are interested in the history of South Africa and its ethnology already owe to its able editor, Dr. Theal." Miss L. C. Lloyd, the greatest living authority upon the Bushmen, claims for Stow's work a great scientific value. Dr. Theal, *facile princeps* the leading ethnologist in South Africa, affirms it to be the most reliable and comprehensive work yet written on this subject. The fund of information it contains is immense, and in putting it forward Stow sets an admirable example to all ethnological students, he gives his authority for every statement advanced.

HISTORICAL

CHAPTER II

THE PRE-HISTORIC GOLD MINES OF RHODESIA—WHEN
WAS THE GOLD EXTRACTED FROM THE ROCK?—NOT
BETWEEN 900 AND 1760 A.D.

PART I

PORTUGUESE PERIOD, 1505–1760¹

IN recently published articles I have cited some of the evidences that the oldest gold mines sunk to depth on the rock in Rhodesia were ancient in the fullest sense of the word, and mentioned the opinions of a succession of the highest mining experts, from Mr. John Hayes Hammond in 1894 to Professor J. W. Gregory in 1905, all of whom had personally inspected the mines, and were perfectly unanimous in their opinion that these were ancient; that they were sunk by people who were not only skilled in rock-mining, but were acquainted with mining in the Near East, or India, or both; that they were not the work of any present Bantu people, and that it was estimated that the ancient output of gold from Rhodesia from the rock at depth was over £75,000,000, which estimate was made before half the ancient mines' area had been discovered.

On the other hand, Professor Maciver, who admits he never inspected any of the gold mines, repudiates any suggestion of an intrusion of foreign influence or occupation into these territories earlier than that of the Magadodoxo Arabs in the eleventh century, thus underrating the possible traffics and discoveries of the ancients, and

¹ The most comprehensive account of this period is to be found in *History and Ethnography of Africa South of the Zambesi*, Vol. I. Dr. G. M. Theal. London : Swan, Sonnenschein & Co., 1907.

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the influence they appear to have exerted by contact with the barbarous inhabitants of South-east Africa. His exact words as to the date of the founding of the town of Sofala by the Magadoxo Arabs are : "There is no justification for ascribing to it an earlier date than the eleventh century A.D." (*R. G. S. Journal*, April 1906, p. 336). Therefore, to prove his case for the comparative modernity he claims for the output of gold from this country it is necessary for him to show the export of gold was not earlier than 1000 A.D., but subsequently to some time in the eleventh century.

Thus he proceeds (*Ibid.*, pp. 335, 336) : "There is a great deal on the subject [output and export of gold] to be found in the Portuguese writers,¹ and it is of some interest. . . . Of course it is extremely difficult to get at any exact estimate of what has been extracted. Let us, for the sake of argument, take the suggestion which puts it at £75,000,000. A Portuguese, Alcaçova, states the yearly sum taken out at the very commencement of the sixteenth century. Translated into English money, it was somewhere between £109,000 and £140,000 sterling. It would not take many centuries to run up to even such a figure at that rate."

The Alcaçova "Fable."

But for several weighty reasons the estimate of Alcaçova cannot be accepted, much less the present English value quoted by Professor Maciver. The letter of Alcaçova merely gives what was the Arab, not Portuguese, values of that time on the South-east African coast. The reduction of Arab values of the early sixteenth century to those of the Portuguese equivalent of that period, and the further reduction of such latter values to the English equivalent of the present day, are, Dr. Theal declares, altogether unreliable. Alcaçova distinctly states that the estimated values given by him were what the Arabs said they had

¹ *Records of South-eastern Africa*. Discovered, translated, and compiled by Dr. G. M. Theal, Historiographer to the Cape Government. The references in this book to the *Records* give volume and page.

References to *Mediaeval Rhodesia* are shown as *M.R.*

THE ALCAÇOVA ‘FABLE’

obtained in years “when the land was at peace,” and at some altogether indefinite time previously to the arrival of the Portuguese in 1505 (*Records*, I, 66).

But Professor Maciver omitted to state that the English values read by him into Alcaçova’s letter were Dr. Theal’s estimate, and further omitted to advise the meeting that Dr. Theal, in advancing what he admits to be this purely conjectural estimate, had, in his footnotes and in his abstract in the same volumes, pointed out that the Arab values mentioned by Alcaçova were highly impossible, and that the reduction to English values of to-day was entirely hypothetical. Dr. Theal wrote, “This is far beyond the real quantity”; and he added, “no one is warranted in believing it possible, and all the appearances and evidences were decidedly against it.”

Dr. Theal goes on in the same volumes to show that even Portuguese authorities differed considerably among themselves as to amounts and values in very ordinary matters, and cites one instance in which one authority states the value of a certain tribute at 2000 miticals of gold, and another authority gives at 500 miticals—a difference of 1500 miticals in 2000 miticals of gold. A mitical¹ was an Arab measure for gold dust, which became such a standard measure throughout the south-eastern coast of Africa that the Portuguese on their arrival adopted it.

Dr. Theal considers that it is impossible to-day to say what amount of gold dust an Arab mitical contained, and that Portuguese antiquarian experts whom he consulted in Lisbon are even at variance as to the value of the Portuguese mitical of the early part of the sixteenth century. It is held that a mitical was not an unalterable standard, no more than the term “bunch” on the vegetable markets of to-day. It was an approximate quantity only. Its value is shown in the records to have been considerably different at the same time in Sena, Mozambique, and Sofala, and also that it varied in all places at different times within two hundred and fifty years. The records also state that

¹ Variously written *meticaes*, *mitiquaes*, and *mytiqueas*.

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Portuguese money was not in use at the trading stations ; for instance, "money is not in use" (Nunez, II, 451), "the currency is gold dust" (Monclaros, III, 202), "there was none [money] at Sofala" (De Lemos, I, 74). Even in more recent times there was wide divergence in values. Dr. Kirk (1865) stated that in his day the coins of Mozambique were of different value, and that "280 reis of the province were valued at 20 reis of Lisbon" (*The Lands of Cazembe*, p. 62).

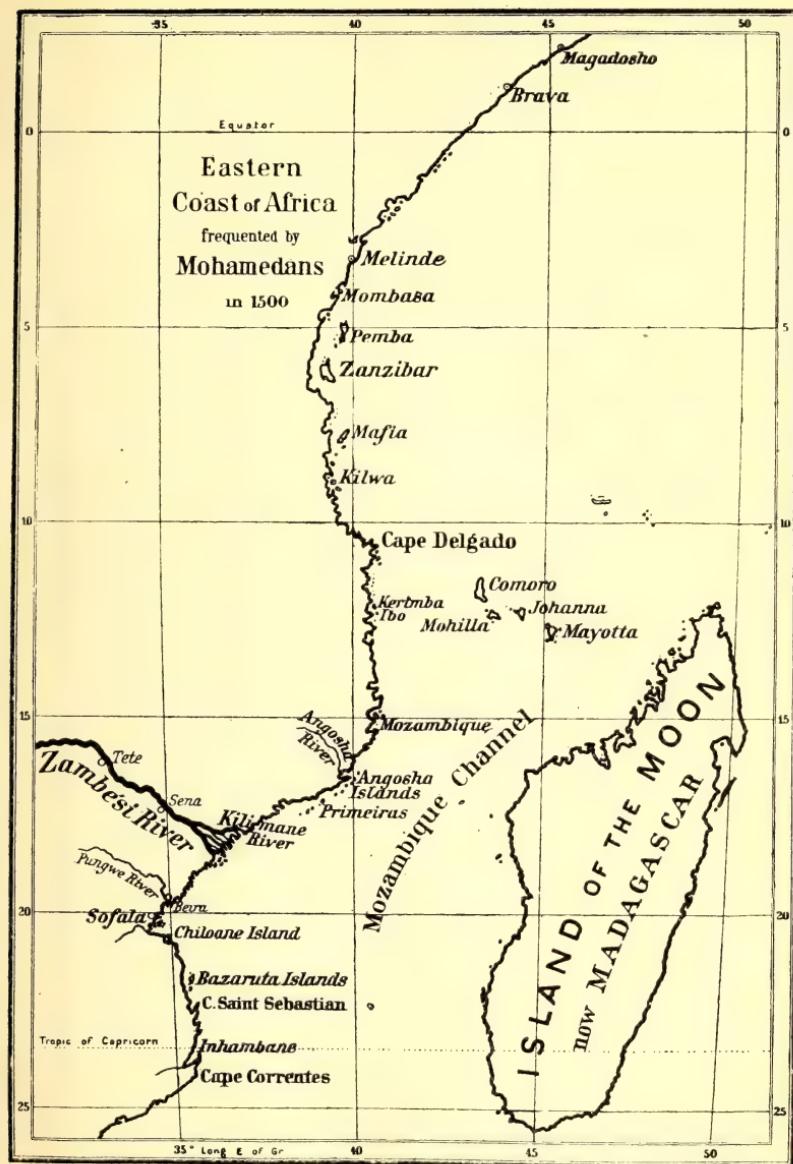
But on other grounds the statements of Alcaçova, characterised by Dr. Theal as "fables," have been challenged—

(1) In 1898 Dr. Theal, who had seen the original document written by Alcaçova, said the letter showed on its face, and apart from its contents, that the writer was an uneducated person.

(2) Alcaçova was at Sofala for less than twelve months, and immediately after the arrival there of the Portuguese in 1505 and before any Portuguese had penetrated into the interior. He wrote in 1506. He was a martyr to fever, and never went inland. He misdescribes native practices. His statements of fact are irreconcilable, and are also flatly contradicted by his contemporaries, as will be seen later, especially with regard to huts of "stone and clay," while his credulity is simply astonishing.

(3) The whole of the records show that the Moors traded secretly and withheld all information as to their gold traffic, that they outrageously misled the Portuguese with regard to it, and that to protect their trade they avoided exciting the cupidity of the Portuguese lest they should usurp their commerce. Thus we read, "They [the Moors] were very wroth at our coming, fearing we would dispossess them of their trade [in gold]" (III, 235); "As soon as they [the Moors] learned that the Governor's object was to discover the mines, by which they would lose their commerce, they had resolved to kill our men little by little with poison" (VI, 370).

Covo, in his work *As Provincias Ultramarinos*, speaks at considerable length concerning the early Portuguese enterprise and the jealousy of the Moors at their advent.



[To face p. 26.]

REFUTED BY CONTEMPORARIES

Dr. Theal writes, "The Moorish traders were particularly and not unnaturally jealous of the arrival of the Portuguese, perhaps not unlike the Portuguese are now of the British arrival. They made all the mischief they could between the Portuguese and the natives." Mr. Bent, in his *Ruined Cities of Mashonaland* (p. 236), states, "The Moors conducted to the martyrdom of Father Silveira. In fact, one of the great obstacles to the success of the Portuguese was the Moors' jealousy, which was at the bottom of the failure of all their expeditions up country." The suggestion that the Moors should, immediately on the arrival of the Portuguese at Sofala, have volunteered such a statement as alleged by Alcaçova is utterly incredible.

(4) No reference to such a trade as mentioned by Alcaçova was made by Covilhão, who visited Sofala in 1487 (almost twenty years before Alcaçova wrote), or by Cabral, who was at Sofala in 1500, or by Ivar, who was there in 1501, or even by Admiral Vasco da Gama, who went to Sofala in 1502, "to obtain information" concerning the country (III, 99), and "to examine the market" (IV, 258), and who traded there for gold (V, 374) and "found little gold" (I, 50),¹ or by D'Aguiar or Alfonso in 1502, or D'Anaya in 1505, or Pereira, Barbudo, and Quaresma in 1506, or De Lemos in 1508. Even the historians Barbosa, M. Barretto, Lopes, Dos Santos, and Monclaros, all of whom visited Sofala and gave detailed descriptions of it and of its trade, are silent as to anything in the slightest approaching Alcaçova's estimate, but all state exactly the contrary as to the extent of the gold trade of Sofala. Two factors of Sofala, contemporaries of Alcaçova, in their official reports distinctly contradict his statement.

(5) Dr. Theal draws my attention to the type of Moors on the coast from whom Alcaçova alleges he obtained his information. Dr. Theal remarks that it would be exceed-

¹ The gold bartered for by Vasco da Gama "was not of great weight," and was "valued at 250 marks." It was obtained from the Moors for a most liberal supply of European goods beyond the value of the gold. The quantity of gold was the subject of ridicule. It was sent to Portugal as "a trophy" (IV, 210, 212).

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ingly difficult for even an intelligent educated Englishman of to-day to state what was the amount of coal exported annually from Great Britain, but it would have been far more so for any Moor of the type described in the records to say what was the annual export of gold from the country of Sofala. It must be remembered that Isuf, the blind sheikh of Sofala, had been killed before Alcaçova wrote (I, 67). The Moors who traded at Sofala at that time from Kilwa, Mombassa, and Melinde, "are black men" only dressed from the waist downward, "some speak Arabic" (I, 94, 97); "all speak the language of the country [Chicaranga]" (III, 124); "the Moors were native Kafirs who turned Moors" (II, 37); the Moors, "both on the coast and in the interior, are heathen Kafirs" (III, 123); "the Moors and Kafirs intermixed" (III, 217); "there are some half-caste Moors among them [the Kafirs], and the whole coast is infested by this infernal race" (III, 218); "they [the Moors of Sofala] are all poor and miserable" (VII, 186); "the Moors live like Kafirs," and the Kafirs "have little respect for them and say they are a low race" (VII, 305); the Moors "feed upon wild beasts and some loathsome things" (I, 12); they are "very poor and have not sufficient to eat during their lives" (VII, 223); "they are barbarians, and are only Moors in name" (VII, 330, 353); are "lazy" (VII, 331); "live with negresses" (VII, 372); "in their habits, customs, language, songs, dances, they imitate the natives" (VII, 199, 222, 371, and general).

(6) But a fatal bar to the acceptance of the statements made by Alcaçova, and which information he said he obtained from the Moors of Sofala, is that, as pointed out by Professor Maciver himself in *Mediaeval Rhodesia*, p. 60, "*The information is derived at second hand from the same untrustworthy source, viz. the reports of the Arab [? Persian] intermediaries who traded to Sofala.*" But at the R. G. S. meeting Professor Maciver omitted to state that the information on which he relied, *i.e.* Alcaçova's, was also derived from what he himself had already described as "*the same untrustworthy source.*"

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MANGANJA
(Nyassa L.)

Chiri R.

M A C U A S



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Prepared by R. N. HALL, F.R.G.S.

NATIVE ‘MINES’ AND ‘MINERS’

We shall now consider whether the vast amount of gold mined from the rock at depth in Rhodesia, or any appreciable portion of it, was extracted between 900 and 1760 A.D., when the Portuguese influence in Zambesia was broken. We shall divide this period into two sections—the Arab and Persian period, 900 to 1505 A.D., and the Portuguese period, 1505 to 1760, and deal with the Portuguese period first.

Natives and “Mines.”

In the Portuguese records we read, the mines of Manica were “not much valued by their owners.” “The natives with much difficulty gathered but a little gold in a long time, not being expert at that work” (Sousa, I, 15). The gold of Sofala “is plentiful in the country, but the natives barter very little” (De Lemos, I, 72). “The natives do not know how to extract gold except with water [washing soil, not mining], nor how to make the necessary implements with which to extract it from the bowels of the earth” (Bocarro, *Decades*, III, 355). “They are so lazy and given to an easy life that they will not exert themselves to seek gold unless they are constrained by necessity for want of clothes and provisions, which are not wanting in the land” (III, 355). A local writer, Father Monclaros, states, “They dig in the mines at certain times when they want to buy cloth to cover themselves” (III, 253). “The natives,” Bocarro considers, “are more inclined to agricultural and pastoral pursuits than mining” (III, 355); the miners “only worked in winter [summer in South Africa] when the earth was soft” [in the rainy season—this is alluvial working on the surface soil, and not mining in rock] (III, 400); the natives only worked for gold in the mornings, “until ten o’clock” (III, 419). “In Mocaranga gold is only extracted in August, September, and October; in November, when the rains start and during the rainy season, there is no gold-washing, as the holes and rivers are flooded” [this is surface working in soil and river sand and not rock-mining] (Barretto, 1667 III, 489). He describes alluvial gold-washing from surface

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soil (III, 490); "All the gold found there [Manica] is dust" (VI, 266). De Barros describes washing surface earth for gold (VI, 240). "They [the natives] dive in the still waters of the river, and much gold is found in the mud which they bring up." "They obtain from the earth small particles of gold which we call gold dust" (VII, 367). "The natives are so lazy in seeking it, that one of these negroes must be very hungry before he will dig for it" (VI, 267). The natives of Manica "do not know how to sink mines" (VI, 367); "the natives of Butua, where there are rich mines, do not know how to obtain gold from any of them," and "only in the winter they go to the torrents which come down from the mountains, where they find grains and pieces of gold." "They are by nature so indolent that when they find sufficient to buy two pieces of cloth to clothe themselves, they will not work any more." "They have no implements for digging deep"¹ (Diogo de Conto, VI, 367). The natives of Manica did not know how to work the mines, and only dug "earth," which was carried in small wooden basins (*pandes*) to be washed in the river, "each one obtaining from it four or five grains of gold, it being altogether a poor and miserable business." "In the winter they searched for grains of gold in the rivers [when they were low]." The native "mines do not reach the vein" (De Conto, VI, 389, 390). Father Dos Santos, who lived eleven years in the country, describes washing surface earth as "mining," and states that the natives of Abutua, "where there is gold," do not dig for gold, "for they are much occupied with the breeding of cattle" (274). He further states, "The first and most usual [method of obtaining gold] is by digging the ground on the margin of rivulets and pools and washing the earth in bowls until it dissolves. For this reason they never dig earth anywhere but at the water-side" (280). "The Kafirs are very indolent with regard to digging the

¹ "They are most barbarous, in mechanical arts they have no skill" (III, 219). "There are no craftsmen" (VII, 207). "They live like wild animals" (VII, 208). "They are cruel and inhuman" (VII, 214).

WASHING SOIL FOR GOLD

earth to find the gold, and they will not do so unless compelled thereto by want" (277). Dos Santos gives further descriptions, all identical, of washing surface earth for gold (288). De Goes states the gold bartered by the natives was "found in rivers and marshy ground" (III, 129). Dos Santos states, the gold taken to Mozambique, the chief factory of the Portuguese, is "generally taken out of the rivers every six months [in the dry season when the rivers are low]" (VII, 364). Ferao, captain of Sena, states, "The gold dug from the earth is never more than at a depth of 4 (1·21 M.) or 6 ft. (1·82 M.). As the natives are ignorant of the art of mining, the earth is washed in the rivers, by which means collecting the dust is very laborious" (VII, 379). Lacerda describes the "waist-deep holes" in which women worked for gold, the men being engaged in hunting, etc. (*Cazembe*, pp. 34, 49, 64, 71, 76). On p. 62, I, of the records where "veins" are mentioned there is no suggestion of rock; "in soil," "dig earth," "collect gold," "gather gold" are the expressions used.¹ In every instance "veins" are the lowest strata of earth lying on the surface of the formation rock in which earth gold, owing to its weight, had lodged, and eye-witnesses of the natives' "mining" operations asserted that the "vein" in the soil ends without penetrating the rock (IV, 286).

Dos Santos further writes, "When the Portuguese found themselves in the land of gold [Manica], they thought they would immediately be able to fill sacks with it, and carry off as much as they chose; but when they had spent a few days near the mines [soil-washing places] and saw the difficulty and labour of the Kafirs, they found their hopes frustrated" (VII, 218). The records further show that the Portuguese were fully aware that the gold bartered by the natives was obtained from rivers; for instance,

¹ For instance, "digging earth" (IV, 158), "digging the earth to find the gold" (VII, 276), the gold was obtained "almost from the surface of the earth" (IV, 158). The fact that "they [the natives] refused to dig deeper than the chin, for fear of the earth falling in," is proof positive that they were not working in rock but in alluvial earth.

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Sousa states, "the rivers of the country [of the *monomotapa*¹] have golden sands" (I, 15).

Dr. Theal states, "The natives neither knew how to dig nor had the necessary tools. Only by washing river sand in pools after heavy rains these barbarians obtained all the gold that was purchased at Sofala" (VIII, 364). The localities of operations of washing surface earth the Portuguese in their usual grandiloquent style misnamed "mines." Dr. Theal further states (VIII, 478), "In none of the records still preserved is there any trace of ancient underground workings having been discovered by the Portuguese."

Manica and Mazoe districts comprise many areas of square miles in extent where the surface soil has been trenched over for gold. All mining engineers and surveyors working on the present mines on the rock in these districts have always asserted that the soil trenching operations are of mediæval and post-mediæval times, probably the work of old Ma-Karanga and Ba-Tonga people, that the ancient mines sunk to depth in the rock

¹ *Munu mu tapa*. Elliott's Chicaranga dictionary renders *monomotapa* as *munu mu tapa*=the man who plunders; but more correctly =he who is a great receiver of tribute. The title was not a mere derisive epithet bestowed by neighbouring tribes of Zulu variety, but one employed as a "praise-name" by the Ma-Karanga for their kings, and was their dynastic title. Its derivation must therefore be sought for in Chicaranga. Mocaranga included more tributary kingdoms than any other Bantu power, not even excepting Cazembe. Further, we find the title "Great Thief" given in the records as one of the praise-names of the king (Dos Santos, VII, 202). The attempts to show that it meant "lord of the mines" or "lord of the hill" must fail, as the Chicaranga language does not contain words which could be so construed. *Muene*=lord, *thaba*=hill, are not known in Chicaranga, but are of Zulu variety.

Livingstone found a surviving *munu mu tapa*, Chitoro, in the same district (Chidema), and bearing the same name (Chitoro), as mentioned in the records. Chidema was the district in Mocaranga in which the *monomotapas* had their northern *zimbaoes* (residences), and in which were the kraals of the kings' wives, relations, and chief officers. Monteiro (1831) also discovered a *munu mu tapa* somewhere in the same locality.

To avoid any confusion the Portuguese rendering of *munu mu tapa* as *monomotapa* has been retained throughout this volume.

BANTU HAVE NO LAMPS

of these districts are undoubtedly ancient in the fullest sense, these having been naturally silted in up to 150 ft. (45·72 M.) in the course of centuries. This is obvious to any one inspecting both the surface workings and the mines on the rock.

Reef-mining, if any, by Ma-Karanga and Ba-Tonga during the Portuguese period was on outcrops only; that is by extracting the "vein stones" from outcrops of reefs, in the same way as can be seen in the Wedza district, where Ma-Karanga within the last few hundred years, and even lately, have followed along the line of outcrops for miles, taking only the "vein stones" of copper and iron ores without any sinking, and from positions where alone they could use fire and water to split the rock, a process impossible of adoption in the deep mines.¹ This nibbling of outcrops for iron and copper, but not for gold, was a common native practice not so very long ago.

But assuming for the purposes of Professor Maciver's argument that a vast amount of gold had been obtained by the natives from washing surface soil and sand in river-beds, and the records show most conclusively that this was not the case, such an amount, whatever it might have been, does not account for a single pennyweight of the more than £75,000,000 which has been extracted from the rock of the ancient mines scattered thickly all over the country, an area of 700 by 600 miles (1126 x 965 K.).

Bocarro (II, 399) describes sacrifices by the natives that the spirits of the dead might point out in dreams where the "mines" were; that is, where the soil contained gold dust. This practice is very common to-day in the case of lost cattle or stolen property, but divining for gold is not exactly mining prospecting; yet this is but another of many evidences that the Ma-Karanga and Ba-Tonga of those days, and the "mining" operations of both these

¹ Dr. Theal points out that the Bantu have no lamps. Had the present Bantu been the rock-miners working in the deep mines at over 100 ft. and more below the surface in dark tunnels some rudimentary lamp must have survived.

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people is described in the same identical terms, were absolutely ignorant of rock-mining and also of assaying reef. Divination cannot possibly explain the extraordinary skill of the ancients in estimating the value of rock, the bulk of which, not showing a speck of visible gold, could not have afforded without assay and determination any possible clue as to its value. The natives were just as unenlightened as they are to-day. When they discovered a mine [alluvial working, most probably one of the "waist-deep holes"] they hid it "with a branch," and practised charms to make "the mine" invisible to the white man's eye (VII, 210, etc.), just as to-day the white man's bullets are believed to be capable of being charmed and turned into water, and so rendered harmless. We also read that the natives would not wash soil for gold in the presence of the Portuguese lest their presence should affect the gold and cause it to disappear (Lacerda). But to mention the superstitions of the native "miners," as described in the records, would require a special chapter.

But the records prove that the Ma-Karanga were pre-eminently an agricultural and pastoral people with an inherent disinclination to work in deep holes. This is not only to be strongly inferred, but is deliberately stated by several writers.¹ To-day it is the same. It is the Ma-Karanga who are producing the bulk of the grain and cattle needed to supply Rhodesia, and any native labour agent will at once admit that the Ma-Karanga, far more so than any other Bantu people, have a deeply ingrained dislike, if not a religious objection, to work down a mine. At any rate it is notorious that the Ma-Karanga of to-day do not place any value on gold, and cannot recognise it unless it be in the form of a sovereign, and the name they give to it is of Arabic derivation. Dr. Livingstone stated in 1860 that the natives of Zambesia were altogether unable to tell the difference between silver and gold, and even to-day they will infinitely prefer a brass to a gold bangle, or a brass bead to a gold bead.

¹ "Their chief care is pasturage and tillage" (E. Sousa, I, 23).

CATTLE WORTH MORE THAN GOLD

Gold of No Value to Natives, 1505-1760.

The ancient mines, sunk to depth in the rock, which cover an area of 700 by 600 miles (1126×965 K.), testify that the pre-historic miners valued gold. The Portuguese records demonstrate that the natives of the country of the *monomotapas* cared nothing for it except as an article to barter for loin-cloths, blankets, glass beads, and brass wire; that, as to-day, their cattle and not gold formed their internal currency;¹ and that they only washed surface soil for gold, and then only between harvest and sowing only bartering during one short period of the year, just as their trading to-day is confined to certain months of the year only.

Barbosa, writing of the trade as the Portuguese found it on their arrival, says, "The natives of Benemotapa exchange gold for cloth, without weighing the gold, in such a quantity they [the Moors] commonly gain a hundred for one" (I, 94, 96). Barretto (1667) states that the native chiefs do not wish gold to be dug for in their lands, because the Portuguese might buy the land from the King, and they would be despoiled of their lands (III, 483), or only such a small amount of gold as was sufficient to buy necessaries (III, 485). Even at Masapa, "where there were rich mines," cows were worth more than gold (II, 120). We have already seen that the "mines" of Manica were "not much valued by their owners" (I, 15).

Scarcity of Gold Ornaments of Natives, 1505-1760.

Soarez mentions that gold beads and trinkets were brought by the natives to Sofala, these only weighing 10 to 12 miticals (a mitical, according to Ferao, = $\frac{3}{16}$ of an

¹ The native currency was cattle and iron hoes. There are many references in the records to iron hoes being the general currency. This is so to-day in those districts where the modern hoes supplied by traders are not as yet used. So much so are hoes used as ordinary currency that the very Chicaranga word for "sell" is *shambadza*, which incorporates the word *badza* (hoe). "They make hoes, which are used in exchange like small money" (Rezende, 1634, II, 411). Dos Santos states that hoes are given for wives (VII, 289), etc.

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ounce), "making out that he is sending to him [the factor] the greatest thing in the world," *i.e.* that the natives not having many gold ornaments prize these small quantities (I, 82). The gold ornaments given to the Governor of Mozambique by the *monomotapa* "did not weigh 10 miticals, the honours and value not being equal" (Father Monclaros, III, 248). Dr. Theal states in his *Abstracts of the Records* that these small presents of gold beads were ridiculed by the Portuguese, and he considers that such ornaments were exceedingly rare among the natives.

The Arab writers of the twelfth century state that the natives did not wear ornaments of gold notwithstanding there was gold in Sofala, "nevertheless the inhabitants prefer copper and make ornaments of it," and also that they adorned themselves with brass and not gold ornaments. The records (1505-1760) contain only three references to gold ornaments being worn, and in two of these instances the gold in quantity ranks after iron and copper.

Ferao, "captain of Sena," states the natives "do not know how to work this metal [gold], and never apply it to any purpose" (VII, 379). The Portuguese records show that iron-smelting furnaces were not numerous, and they mention them as rarities. Authorities on the Bantu are unanimous in stating that no tribe of Bantu people have ever been known to weld metal. Lacerda only saw one native in Zambesia wearing gold "spangles" (split pellets, just as the natives of the present day wear copper and tin spangles in their hair), and remarks, "but no one prized them" (p. 23), the chief of the Maravi informing him that "his people did not extract gold, because they knew not what it was" (p. 80), further, they did not do so "because their ancestors had not done so." Lacerda said that the natives did not know how to mine for gold, nor how to convert it into ornaments, and also that the natives did not value gold. All the writers very frequently refer to the brass, iron, and copper ornaments worn by the natives. For instance, "The negroes make of it [copper] their necklaces, bracelets, and anklets (*vergas*, wires [imported]) like carpet-rods, twisted round the legs," as also worn to-day.

SCARCITY OF GOLD ORNAMENTS

But the evident scarcity of gold ornaments among these people to which the records testify appears to be borne out by the "finds." We are distinctly informed in the records that the Ma-Karanga did not make or wear large gold bangles and necklaces (I, 32), and yet out of the £4000 worth of ornate gold ornaments found on the lowest and original floors in the older structures at Zimbabwe, and out of the profusion of gold ornaments found in other ruins of the Zimbabwe type and age, the greater portion consisted of these large bangles and necklaces. This points to an occupation of Zimbabwe and certain other ruins at some period very long prior to 1500, and also to the very general practice of wearing such articles. Moreover, gold bangles are stated to have been worn only by the *monomotapa* himself, "an honour he grants to none and reserves for himself alone" (III, 248). This confirms the statements of Mr. W. G. Neal and myself in *The Ancient Ruins of Rhodesia*, written before the Portuguese records were discovered, and based on our finds in two distinctly different types of ruins, that at any rate since 1500, if not from some very much earlier period, the Ma-Karanga did not make or wear gold ornaments. In the graves of the natives of (about) that period, and of subsequent times, hardly any gold beads, if any, are discovered, nor in débris of the huts of such natives; nor are they to be found on the clay (*daga*) floors which yield the class of Ma-Karanga and Ba-Rosie¹ pottery of a late period and of poor make with which Professor Maciver so freely illustrates his work; nor have they been, or ever will be, found in certain ruins of a late date and of poor construction said by Professor Maciver, but without the slightest warrant, to be the "prototypes" of the Temple at Zimbabwe! Every future explorer must meet with the same experience concerning "finds" of gold ornaments as were described seven years ago in *The Ancient Ruins of Rhodesia*.

Gold ornaments were only found in abundance in graves

¹ The Ba-Rosie, certain Bantu authorities claim, did not arrive in these regions earlier than 180 years ago. On this point the author is inclined to await further evidences.

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of the very oldest type, in which the bodies lay in a horizontal position, also on the lowest granite cement floors of ruins of the Zimbabwe order, and then they were always discovered in rich profusion, "as plentifully as nails on the floor of a carpenter's shop." Gold will not, unless a stray bead or two, be found on the upper clay (*daga*) floors, or in connection with *daga* structures.

This evident scarcity of gold ornaments during this period provides a striking contrast with the circumstances of some much earlier period, and points to a decided divergence in culture. From 957 A.D., when Al' Wardy wrote that the natives of the Sofala country did not wear ornaments of gold, we have a long succession of emphatic statements by Arab, Persian, and Portuguese writers to the effect that no gold ornaments were worn. Was the gold ornament wearing period at some time prior to 957 A.D.? All the brass wire bangles so far discovered contain a "core of vegetable fibre" (M.R. 76), but in fully a hundred instances of the discovery of gold bangles the "core of vegetable fibre" had completely disappeared. This alone points to "periods," and also to a wide divergence in culture.

Gold beads are also to be found in positions where they have been undisturbed for many centuries. One instance of several may be stated. In 1906 Mr. Garthewaite, consulting mining engineer for the Chartered Company, found gold beads 12 ft. (3·65 M.) deep in solid gravel which had never before been artificially disturbed, in a district where there were no ruins or mines, and nowhere near any river.

Unsettled State of the Country, 1505-1760.

While the ancient rock mines in Rhodesia are shown by mining experts to evidence very long periods, covering centuries, of peaceful, unmolested, and well-organised mining operations, the period 1505-1760 is shown by historic records to have been one of continuous wars, and of completest un settlement and disturbance, precluding any suggestion whatever of natives raising within that period even the veriest appreciable portion of the vast amount of

A CHRONIC STATE OF WARS

gold estimated to have been extracted from the rock of the country.

On the arrival of the Portuguese in 1487 they found the Arabs and Persians of Mozambique and Sofala to be engaged in a chronic state of warfare with each other, and with various tribes on the coast. "This constant strife," says Dr. Theal, "was the key to the easy conquest of the coast regions and islands by the Portuguese." The disruption of the "empire" of the *monomotapas*, which had taken place long before the arrival of the Portuguese, still resulted in permanent feuds and constant wars in the interior.

The small amount of gold arriving at Sofala is attributed to native wars inland (I, 66). De Brito, factor of Sofala, in 1519 reports, "This country is ruined," and that a chief of Quiteve had "reduced all the territories round this fortress" (I, 105). In 1569 Tete trading station was temporarily abandoned owing to wars (Monclaros, III, 202). In 1570 the Portuguese were fighting with the Quiteve, the king of the hinterland of Sofala (De Conto, VI, 388). Then followed the twenty years' war (1570–1590) of the Muzimbas with other tribes, also with the Portuguese, which stopped all trade at Mozambique, Zambesia, and Sofala, the ill-effects continuing till the end of the seventeenth century (VIII, and generally). In 1592 there was a slight revival in trade, but later "matters along the great river (Zambesi) were in a worse condition than ever before" (III, 403). In 1602 "the Cabires, a warlike tribe, were in possession of the mines of Chicova, and the principal mines of the kingdom of *monomotapa*" (King of Portugal to the Viceroy of India, IV, 50). Dos Santos states there was war "nearly every year" (VII, 273), and further states, "the natives went about in bands at variance with each other" (VII, 363). De Barros reports, "No gold has been extracted from the mines for years because of the wars" (VI, 268). In the Government reports (1584–1668) it is evident that the Kings of Portugal were more concerned for the safety of Sofala and Mozambique as naval depôts on the route to India, which were threatened by the Dutch,

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and later by the English, than for their value as gold-trading stations. In 1607 the crews of Dutch ships robbed and sacked the town and port of Mozambique (V, 285). In 1609 the chief trading station of the Portuguese at Masapa in Mocaranga was abandoned, "all the country was in arms against the Portuguese" (Bocarro, III, 383), and the Portuguese are ordered to withdraw from the Zambesi to Mozambique "to defend it from the Dutch" (III, 384). In 1615 the Chicova fort was abandoned by the Portuguese (IV, 158). In 1628 the King of Portugal writes, "The trade of the rivers of Cuama ['five mouths,' Zambesi] is in a miserable state," which he attributes to wars (IV, 213). In 1634 Dutch pirates rob the Portuguese trading ships off Sofala. In 1635 the Portuguese are at war with the kingdom of Manica (IV, 278). In 1651 English ships threaten Sofala coast ports. In 1667 "the settlement [Mozambique] is almost deserted" (Barreto, III, 480). In 1687 English ships trade in South-east Africa and seized the commerce of the Portuguese (V, 296). In 1719 "disorders [in Mocaranga] are frequent" (V, 66); "the vast empire [of Mocaranga] is in such a state of decadence that no one has dominion over it" (V, 72). In 1748 French ships visit Mozambique and usurp the Portuguese trade with the neighbouring islands, and "the commerce of Querimba [an important trading station between the Zambesi and Mozambique] is entirely in the hands of the French" (V, 194).

But, in passing, be it remembered that the records refer to that period, the stormy and unsettled times just described, which Professor Maciver claims as the very period during which the bulk of the Rhodesian ruins were erected, and as part of that period the greater, or at any rate a large, portion of the more than £75,000,000 of gold was extracted from the rock at depth! But the records make the acceptance of such conclusions absolutely impossible, though there is no doubt, as was contended by myself almost ten years ago, that some of the small and poorer buildings, mere parodies of the earlier structures, were erected in subsequent times. Later we shall draw attention to the

IVORY THE ONLY MERCHANDISE

strange ignorance (?) of the Moors and Portuguese that such colossal building operations and such skilled mining of rock (not soil or sand in rivers) on an astonishingly extensive scale were going on (so Professor Maciver invites us to believe), not only over an area of 700 by 600 miles (1126×965 K.) of country, but actually in those very districts where were the Portuguese trading stations. But not a rumour of such colossal undertakings, which Professor Maciver states must then have been in progress, ever reached the ears of the Portuguese! But to return to the records.

Portuguese Trade at Sofala, 1505-1760.

On account of the poorness of the gold trade of Sofala, which place Duarte Barbosa describes as "a village" (I, 93), Alcaçova applies for a better position in India (I, 67). De Lemos, factor of Sofala, reports in 1508, the gold of Sofala "is plentiful in the country, but the natives barter very little" (I, 72). Soarez, factor of Sofala in 1513, complains of the small quantity of gold bartered for. He says, "I see so few natives and traders from the interior that from then to the present time I have not bartered 500 miticals, and this though the whole country is at peace," and "the captains by presents had laboured to secure a commerce." "Although there is gold scattered over the whole country, no one has such a quantity that it is worth his while to come so far in order to barter it"; also he says, "There is not so much gold in this country as has been reported" (I, 80, 81). Soarez also reports, "A great expense for so little revenue and profit, which is scarcely sufficient to cover the charges of the said establishment [Sofala]." He suggests the abolition of certain offices, also the reduction of salaries of officials; and he states, "A factor and two clerks" were "sufficient to carry on the trade [at Sofala]"; and further, "There is nothing to prevent the traders coming here, if there are any" (I, 82, 83). De Brito, factor of Sofala, reported in 1519 that in eleven months he had only received 552 miticals of gold, which, he says, was insufficient to pay the official salaries of the factory, and "I am quite

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ruined [by farming the trade], and I wish I had not come here at any price"; trade at Sofala, he says, "is so dull that men have no heart" (I, 105, 106). Sofala as a trading station is declared to be useless (*Ibid.*). In 1552 official reports show a further serious decline in the gold trade of Sofala (III, 148, 149). In 1560 Father Monclaros states, "The favourable reports of the abundant riches of *monomotapa* are not borne out by facts" (III, 302). In 1580 it was officially reported that "this fortress [Sofala] yields no revenue to our lord the King, except a small trade in ivory" (IV, 1). De Barreto writes, "Not a grain of gold is to be found in [the kingdom of] Quiteve" (III, 489), Quiteve being the immediate hinterland of Sofala, extending inland for 150 miles (241 K.). In 1585 Sofala was yielding nothing except the profit on a small quantity of ivory (VIII, 406). In 1634 Rezende, "the most competent writer of his day," reports that Sofala had no garrison, only three Portuguese residing there. He states, "The only commerce carried on was in ivory"; also, "the only merchandise being ivory" (II, 405). In 1635 it is reported, "The fortress at Sofala is in a ruinous state, with no men" (IV, 255). In 1667 Barreto states that the principal trade of Sofala, "which is almost deserted," is "ivory" (III, 480); and later states his reasons to account for the small quantity of gold produced from the whole of the country. Ferao attributes the failure of the Sofala trade in gold to civil wars in progress in Quiteve (VII, 378, 380, 381).

Much has been made by the supporters of Professor Maciver's conclusions of the reference to the "two ships of the Moors who had laden gold [1500] from that mine [Sofala] and were going to Melinde" (I, 48). The records show that owing to sand-banks ships could not enter the port of Sofala, and that all the transport along the entire coast of Mozambique was carried on in zambucos. On p. 91, I, it is stated that "they [the Moors] came [to Sofala] in little vessels which they call zambucos from the kingdoms of Kilwa, Mombasa, and Melinde." The two "ships" were "zambucos" (V, 443); and Father Fernandes, 1560, says (II, 83) zambucos were small open boats "where there

NO INGOT GOLD EXPORTED

is no room for a man to stand, sit or lie down." De Goes states (III, 77), "The ships, or zambucos, in which these Moors sailed had no decks, and were not nailed together, but were fastened with wooden pins and cord made of palm fibre; the sails were made of the same palm tree closely woven together like mats." These boats, which only had one mast and one sail, were always drawn up above high-water mark when in harbour. In calms and contrary winds they were propelled with oars (VI, 171).

Such, then, are the reports on the state of the gold trade at Sofala. But if such was the sorry state of the gold trade at Sofala from 1505 to 1760, in what position was the gold trade of Mozambique and Zambesia during the same period?

Portuguese Trade of Mozambique, Zambesia, and Coast.

But Mozambique was the Portuguese centre both of the administrative authority and of the commerce for the whole of South-east Africa, including not only Zambesia and the country of the *monomotapa*, and of Manica, Quiteve, and Sofala, but of Melinde, Mombasa, Kilwa, Magadodoxo, Inhambane, Lourenço Marques, and of all the islands lying along the coast from Cape Delgado to Cape Correntes. All trading or barter goods for all these places were only obtainable, except by smuggling, from Mozambique, and to the central dépôt at Mozambique was sent all the gold, ivory, and other articles bartered from the natives at the sub-trading stations. The records explicitly state, as shown later, that no gold bars or ingot gold were ever sent to Mozambique from any one of the sub-trading stations of Mocaranga. All gold arrived in the form of gold dust, which on arrival was converted by Government assayers into bar gold. Mozambique was the only place where the official assayers were stationed. From Mozambique the gold was exported to India, only a small quantity being sent to Portugal. Consequently the state of the gold trade at Mozambique provides a fair index as to the state of the gold trade of the Portuguese throughout the entire South-east African coast.

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The records show that at Mozambique the gold trade never flourished, but on the other hand was ever in a chronic state of depression, at times of stagnation and complete ruin. The vicissitudes of the island were at times exciting, varying from the chronic unrest of its Moorish population to sieges by the Dutch, the ruination of its trade by the French, constant fears of an English occupation, and a hostile native population of Macua, who were cannibals, on the mainland, and who for long periods together not only refused a foothold to the Portuguese in their territory but denied to them the supply of provisions.

In 1503 the kings of Melinde and Mombasa were at war (III, 103), while "the Christians and Moors of Kilwa were always at war" (III, 79). In 1572 Monclaros, a local writer, states, "The people [on the Mozambique coast] are generally poor and wretched in nearly all these parts, and the Portuguese are becoming so already through the loss of the commerce and navigation taken from them by their enemies" (III, 216). In 1584 an official report states, "This fortress [Mozambique] produces no revenue for our lord the king" (IV, 2). In 1634 Rezende writes, "The Captain of Mozambique holds a monopoly of the commerce, he carries it on alone, with only one small vessel" (II, 405). The failure of the trade reduced the Governor of Mozambique "to beggary" (IV, 279).

The records show there was never at any time any trade in gold from the mainland of the northern Mozambique coast. "The Portuguese resorted to these rivers [on the Mozambique coast north of the Zambesi] to trade for ivory, provisions, and ambergris," there being not a single reference to gold (III, 223). Moreover, the Portuguese of those days, as Dr. Livingstone and Sir Richard Burton have pointed out, never went inland on the mainland from Mozambique, while the records expressly state that the Portuguese possessed no knowledge of these regions for the simple reason that the natives, the Macua, were a most dangerous and warlike people always at strife among themselves, and on every opportunity raiding the Portuguese settlements even on the islands along the coast.

'NOT A GRAIN OF GOLD'

From the northern banks of the Zambesi the Portuguese traded with the Maravi, but for ivory only, and after 1645 for slaves and ivory. From the country of the Maravi, which was bounded on the south by the Zambesi, a territory extending for at least 200 by 200 miles (321 K.), the records frequently mention that no gold was ever obtained, for instance, "In Maravi not a grain of gold is to be found" (III, 489), while Lacerda states that the Maravi had not the remotest idea of what gold was.

We find that the trade between Mozambique and Lourenço Marques, Cape Correntes, and Inhambane was comparatively insignificant. One pangayo, a small boat propelled either by a sail or oars, was sent every year from Mozambique to Cape Correntes and Inhambane with trading goods for both those places, to bring back "ivory, slaves, honey, butter," there being no reference to gold (VII, 331). In 1630 it was said, "Inhambane, where there is a trade in ivory," gold not being mentioned (I, 22). One pangayo sufficed for the year's trade between Mozambique and Lourenço Marques, but it only brought back ivory, there being no mention of gold, and it is said the pangayo returned "*half laden*" (VII, 366). One pangayo every six months was sufficient for the trade between Mozambique and Angosha, whence was obtained "ivory, tusks of the hippopotamus, some ambergris, a number of slaves, and very fine straw mats," there being no mention of gold (VII, 332). One pangayo every year suffices for the trade between Mozambique and Querimba, "millet and rice, cows, goats" being mentioned, but not gold. One also suffices for a year's trade between Mozambique and Madagascar, the commerce consisting of "cows, goats, ambergris, and slaves," there being no references to gold (VII, 332).

Owing to the chronic state of depression of the gold trade at Mozambique itself, Father M. Barretto wrote (1667), that "there was a proverbial saying in the mouths of the inhabitants and persons acquainted with these parts *that all which is outside Mozambique is better than Mozambique*" (III, 502). The inhabitants of Mozambique were noted as

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having a boast which was to the effect that there were more Portuguese buried there than anywhere outside Portugal. "It is the sepulchre of thousands of Portuguese" (III, 464). The records further show that owing to the poorness of trade the officials at Mozambique frequently became ruined, and were always petitioning the Home Government for their removal elsewhere.

But the official documents and revenue reports given in the records disclose a most hopeless state of affairs at the head-quarters of the Portuguese trade in South-east Africa. In 1590 Friar da Zevedo writes to the King of Portugal, "The kingdom of *monomotapa* and the rivers of Cuama [Zambesi] at present profit you nothing" (IV, 35). In 1593 the King of Portugal writes, "My treasury in that state [Mozambique and Sofala] not only does not receive any profit from the trade of these fortresses, but has also been obliged to bear the expenses thereof" (IV, 39). In 1593 Kilwa was destroyed by the Muzimba, who ruined the trade at Kilwa and Mombasa for many years (VII, 302). In 1623 the stations at the mouths of the Zambesi were "in a most abandoned state, and in want of everything, especially of men" (IV, 230). In 1628 the King of Portugal writes, "The trade of the rivers of Cuama [Zambesi] is in a miserable state" (IV, 213). In 1635 Quilimane station "is in a ruinous state with no men" (IV, 255). In this year the Macua tribe besieged Quilimane and stopped all trade (IV, 278). In 1684 the King of Portugal writes, the revenues of Mozambique "would not suffice to cover the necessary expenses for the defence of Mozambique and the rivers [Zambesi]" (IV, 423). In 1688, for three years, says the King of Portugal, there has been nothing for the Royal Treasury "because the decadence of the rivers increased every day" (IV, 449). In 1711 local tribes again besiege Quilimane and stop all trading (V, 33). In 1720 it is stated that "no profit whatever resulted from the trading, debts upon debts accumulating yearly" (V, 91). In 1720 the King of Portugal writes, "The debts [of Mozambique and the rivers to the Royal Treasury] have increased annually, the northern stations [Kilwa, Mombasa, Melinde]

NO GOLD FROM ROCK MINES

declining more and more" (V, 74), and "that vast empire [of the *monomotapa*] is in a state of decadence." In 1734 the King of Portugal writes, "I have seen your letter relating to the ruinous state to which the General Council of Mozambique and the rivers is reduced, being more than 200,000 cruzadoes in debt" (V, 175).

Portuguese Trade of Sabia and Limpopo Districts, 1505-1760.

But the most astonishing feature in the records is the fact that they are absolutely silent as to any gold being obtained in the most important districts of Sabia and Limpopo, the evidences both positive and negative being that no gold was traded during this period from these territories. On this point the records are emphatic, and, further, they clearly prove that the Portuguese never visited them, and that what trade came from them consisted only of "ivory, ambergris, and iron, sesame and other vegetables" (VII, 186), and also copper, brought by the natives to Sofala, Mambone at the mouth of the Sabi, and Inhambane, and this only very rarely and in small quantities.

Yet the immense kingdom of Sabia—the records define its boundaries—which was traversed by the Sabi river, occupied by Ma-Karanga, and included the Great Zimbabwe (which the Portuguese never saw, and which is not the "Zimboache"¹ of Barbosa which he stated was in the

¹ The *monomotapas* have "no fortresses or walled cities" (III, 358). In 1505 the Moors reported that at some indefinite time previously the Zimbabwe Temple was in ruins and "very ancient" (VI, 268). The Portuguese never saw Zimbabwe, but the records show they saw five other ruins. The Fura ruins they describe as "fragments of old walls and ancient ruins of stones," so old that they ascribed them to Solomonic times (VII, 275, etc.). Of the Beza ruins, which are a magnificent pile of buildings, they state (III, 356), "the Kafirs say they are a supreme piece of work. All the *monomotapas* are buried there, and it serves them for a cemetery." Here again the word "ancient" is used. Other stone buildings are mentioned, and in every instance the natives had no tradition as to their origin. But these ruins were mentioned about 1560 as "ruins," and yet some of these are Professor Maciver's seventeenth-century buildings! Several rudely-built native stone-walled villages of the Selous order, not two hundred years old,

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kingdom of the "Benemotapa," which "Zimboache" was the chief zimbaoe or "residence" of the *monomotapa* near Masapa in the Mazoe district), yields in its mines by far the best and most substantial evidences of ancient activities to be found anywhere in the whole of South-east Africa! To attempt to deal with the problem of the ancient rock mines between the Zambesi and the Limpopo without any reference whatever to these most important territories would be tantamount to discussing the play of *Hamlet* with the part of the Prince of Denmark omitted.

The Sabi provided in ancient times, and has always to this day provided, the only natural and possible trade route through the mountainous barriers of the escarpment of the central South African plateau from Sofala to the Zimbabwe country,¹ while the Limpopo provided and still provides the natural and only possible approach from the coast to the ancient goldfields of Tati, Tuli, Gwanda, Belingwe, and, in fact, to the whole of the ancient rock mines' area lying between those districts and the Murchison Range in the Transvaal, an immense area of ancient mining activities of the existence of which the Portuguese were absolutely ignorant. Evidently the scores of millions sterling of gold did not come from these two areas between 1505 and 1760, nor had the Moors any traditions concerning the great wealth which was once obtained from these sources.

Inland Trading Stations.

None of the inland markets of the Portuguese, excepting Sena, were established until some time after De Barretto's expedition in 1569, while the greater number were founded considerably later, some not being opened until over one hundred years and one hundred and fifty years after the Portuguese had arrived at Sofala in 1505, while there is no reference to others until 1749, about twenty years before

are declared by Professor Maciver to have been the prototypes of Great Zimbabwe, which was in "ruins" and "very ancient" long before 1505, also of "ancient" buildings mentioned in the middle of the sixteenth century! But see Chapters IV and VII.

¹ See *Point of Intrusion of Foreign Influence in Pre-historic Times was the Sabi River*, p. 216.

INLAND STATIONS ABANDONED

the Portuguese power in inland South-east Africa was broken. The records further show that these markets have very precarious existence, also that some were only used for a very few years. For instance, Masapa was first abandoned in 1616 (I, 39), and there are references to later abandonments. The Portuguese were driven out of Bocuto in 1609 (III, 379). Chicova was established in 1614, and finally abandoned in 1616 (I, 41, 42). In 1572 Monclaros mentions Tete as "where the Portuguese formerly traded" (III, 226), and says, "Tete was deserted by our people" (III, 239), and he describes Sena as "a small village with straw huts" (III, 223). In 1616 and also in 1628 both Sena and Tete were raided by the *monomotapa* (I, 43; II, 429). The factory of Chipiriviri was very short-lived, and being near Chicova, probably shared the same fate. In 1635 there were only "six men" in the kingdom of Manica (IV, 7), while the records show that the stations in Manica were abandoned at times for years together, some finally abandoned, and that in 1720 there was an attempt "to re-establish the fair of Manica" (V, 95). The only mention of Zumbo is in 1749, and only as a mission (V, 215), and of Massi-Kessi somewhat later still. Bandire was abandoned soon after its establishment (VII, 381).

The general unsettlement of the country from 1505 to 1760, as described earlier, accounts very largely for the short lives of these markets, but the introduction of the slave trade in 1645, as dealt with later, finally put an end to the Portuguese trade in gold. The Jesuit letters of 1740 (Wilmot's *Monomotapa*, p. 179) state that "all live in continual wars." But the policy of the Portuguese was equally as unaccountable for the general unsettlement as was the chronic state of native warfare or the Portuguese traffic in slaves. The Portuguese were always sending out punitive expeditions, and to such an extent that in 1634 De Rezende wrote, "Those [natives] in the interior are in revolt against us, and as we have often chastised them in war, they cherish a hatred of us" (II, 411), and he further explained the "petty commerce" by stating, "The negroes

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of these parts resent the punishments we have inflicted upon them" (416).

Moreover, these markets were only "annual fairs," that is, they were only open at one period of the year. The natives, the records show, did not wash in the rivers for gold except between harvest and sowing, also their trading was confined, as it is to-day, to one period of the year only. The Portuguese went annually to Masapa, Luanze, Bocuto, and Bandire, "where the Kafirs from the interior go to wait for them at certain times" (VI, 368; VII, 381).¹

Portuguese Farm the Gold Trade.

The various fiscal policies adopted by the Portuguese at different periods between 1505 and 1760, as detailed in the records, afford further evidence of the slackness of the gold trade during the whole of this period. At one time customs are farmed, at another the whole gold trade of Mozambique is farmed, at other times the Home Government works the trade on its own account, while intervening periods of absolute free trade alternate with those of rankest protection, monopolies, and prohibitive tariffs. The fiscal policy was always in a chronic state of variation to either or any extreme, no system proving satisfactory. In 1598 "the mines of Sofala" were leased for £4050 per annum (IV, 46). It does not speak much of the value the Portuguese placed upon their gold trade when we consider the terms of one of these farming contracts. In 1614 the whole of the Portuguese trade in South-east Africa in gold and ivory was farmed to the Captain of Mozambique, who is debited with £7500 annually, and against this amount he is credited with expenses of the trading stations, forts, officials, and troops, but not with the tribute payable to kings and chiefs, and the balance (!) to be sent to India (VIII, 460). Little wonder is it that the records show that in many instances the contractors became ruined, and that the Government was always being defrauded by its officials.

¹ Masapa, Luanze, and Manzovo (Bocuto), the principal annual fairs of the Portuguese, are described by Dos Santos, who lived in the country for eleven years, as "villages" (VII, 270). See Chapter XV.

BAD TRADE RUINS OFFICIALS

There are, however, two rare instances cited where those who had "farmed" the gold output had been successful. But these two fortunate individuals enjoyed the monopoly of all trading goods brought into the country, and though only a small trade in gold was transacted, yet the margin of profit between the price of such goods when landed in the country and their actual selling price to the natives was so enormous—amounting in some instances to a thousand per cent.—that with a small turn-over a most successful trading could be carried on. Thus we read, "A good deal [of profit on ivory] is gained by it in consequence of the trifling value here [Sofala] of the merchandise with which it is purchased" (I, 85). Correa mentions that "for a piece of cloth worth 150 reis was paid gold worth 750 reis" (II, 28). Monclaros, writing of the great profit to be made in trade, says, "One hundred cruzadoes may well be made to yield three thousand cruzadoes" (III, 234). Cloth valued at 66 reis when landed at Sofala was worth for sale $2\frac{1}{2}$ miticals of gold dust; that is, 66 reis bought gold dust worth 1167 reis (I, 104). Loin-cloths sold for one mitical of gold dust "apiece," that is, 467 reis per loin-cloth! (III, 234, and also I, 85). But these "farmers" are shown to have made more money out of their extortions, and also by licences and permits to trade sublet by them, and by the issue of slave-trading licences, for which there was a brisk and constant demand, than they made by their own trading.

Still the majority of "farmers" were ruined by their contracts. Most wanted to leave the country and go to India or Portugal, and boldly asked the king for their removal from East Africa. Promotion "elsewhere" depended on two conditions precedent, bribes¹ (one "farmer" modestly describing bribes "a recompense for obtaining office" (II, 414)) and glowing reports. The constant aim of "farmers" and officials is shown to have been promotion "elsewhere," nothing in South-east Africa

¹ The official scale for "bribes" was, for three years' appointment, quarter of salary; for life appointment, half of salary (V, 237).

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being considered good enough. "I pray your Highness graciously to send me away from these parts [Sofala]" (Covesma, I, 56). De Brito writes, "I am quite ruined [by farming the trade], and I wish I had not come here [Sofala] at any price" (I, 105, 106). One applicant for promotion "elsewhere" pathetically commences, "For God's sake!" (I, 26), and no wonder when the Governor of Mozambique himself was "reduced to beggary" because, as is stated, he had paid too big a bribe for his position (IV, 279). The poet Camoens, induced to take office at Sofala, met with rather unpoetic experiences in money matters at that port (I, 20). Alcaçova, who wrote that he was "ruined," and therefore unable to buy promotion "elsewhere," sends in a most glowing report based on "the information derived at second hand from an untrustworthy source, viz. the reports of the Arab intermediaries who traded to Sofala" (*Mediæval Rhodesia*, p. 60), and it is his glowing report which exactly five hundred years later led Professor Maciver so seriously astray.

But the factors' reports allude to the smuggling of gold by the Moors. Surely Professor Maciver would not suggest that the £75,000,000 of gold was smuggled out of the country between 1505 and 1760? There is no doubt the Moors did engage in illicit trade. Dr. Theal very fairly and impartially sums up the references in the records to such a traffic when in his *History of South Africa* (p. 285) he writes, "That a considerable trade was carried on by the Mohammedans with the Bantu in defiance of the Portuguese is highly probable, but that it amounted to a very large sum is not at all likely." The enforcing of the customs against the Moors was so rigid, that "according to Durate Barbosa they were reduced to such straits ('abject misery') that they began to cultivate cotton and manufacture loin-cloths themselves, but this, if correct at all, can only have been on a very limited scale." But Alcaçova states that the gold from the country of the *monomotapa* "does not go out through any other part [that is, not from Zambesi ports] except through Sofala, and something [smuggled gold] through Angoya, but not much" (I, 66).

PORtUGUESE HAD NO MINERS

Portuguese did not Mine for Gold, 1505-1760.

The records are very emphatic in showing that the Portuguese did not mine in these territories for gold. Though excellent miners in Brazil, they had no mining engineers or assayers in South-east Africa. In 1619, after being in the country for over one hundred years, they had to admit to the Home Government that they had no mining experts, and asked for some to be sent out (IV, 162), and the first assayers were sent in 1649, but to Mozambique only (IV, 307), and also that they had no miners (IV, 158, 161, 162). In 1634 pieces of conjectured silver ore had to be taken to Lisbon for assay (I, 42; II, 411; III, 235, etc.). Two hundred years after their arrival they confess they had not found the gold mines! Probably not, for the ancient mines at depth on the rock can be shown to have been naturally silted in and almost buried long centuries before the Portuguese arrived in this country.

In 1629 the *monomotapa* donated to the Portuguese certain mines, but, says the Governor-General, "up to the present time there is only the word of the said Kafirs in proof of this [their existence]" (IV, 159). So incompetent were the Portuguese that in 1635 they most seriously declared, "The metal [gold] is formed by the sun on the surface of the earth" (IV, 286). They describe "golden quarries" with lumps of gold as large as a man's head [the Chartered Company would be exceedingly glad to locate and "reserve" these "golden quarries"]; also that gold grew in trunks of trees, and that it "grows" and "sprouts," presumably after the fashion of cabbages (I, 22; III, 355, etc.), "like a large yam" (VI, 367). "Mountains of silver" were reported as having been seen (IV, 159).

Dos Santos, a local writer, describes how the deceitful natives had buried two pieces of silver ore in the soil for the Portuguese to discover, and that when they were dug up with a "plantation mattock" "there was rejoicing and delight, and the trumpets and drums of the camp assisted in celebrating the discovery" (VII, 283); they also discovered a "red earth that has not yet been converted into gold, but which shows by its colour that it will so become"! (281).

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But the Portuguese, the records tell us, did actually attempt at a very late period to mine in the northern portion of Mazoe, and there only, and they scattered Nankin china, this "very valuable dating material,"¹ round about their workings by the hundredweight. Mr. Telford Edwards has shown this was the case. Pieces of their timberings for the roofs in their extensions of the ancient adits were taken to London for examination, and about three hundred years was allowed by experts as their utmost age. The Portuguese cleared out some few small ancient rock mines² of the silted soil with which they had become filled up, but, as the records show, they soon abandoned what was only an attempt, "for commerce [Kafir truck trading] is more profitable," "and they left them [the mines]" (III, 233), "the trade in cloth being more profitable, especially in loin-cloths" (III, 253). Further, Monclaros, a local writer, states, "The *monomotapa* gave some gold mines [probably alluvial areas] to several Portuguese, but because the expense of extracting the gold was so great, and so little was taken out every day, they would not have them" (III, 233). "Gold mines" to the Portuguese were evidently not worth acceptance, even as gifts.

In a letter written by the King of Portugal (1640) we find, "The steps taken up to the present have not shown that there would be any advantage in working the said mines, on account of the small profit obtained from them" (IV, 287). In 1645 we find the Portuguese trade in slaves to Brazil and India from Mozambique paid far better, on their own admission, than either gold-trading or gold-mining, while the records show (the references cited before) that the ivory trade at Sofala was more profitable than the trade in gold! We read, too, that the Portuguese slave trade destroyed the confidence of the natives in the Portuguese and ruined the trade in gold. Little wonder the King of Portugal's "Ultramarine Council" at Lisbon became so

¹ See *Nankin China*, pp. 237-253.

² Livio Sanuto, in his *Geographia dell Africa* (1588), declared that the mines in Manica were "ancient." The records contain over twenty references to the rock mines being "ancient," but these references are dealt with in Chapter III.

NO MENTION OF ROCK MINES

exceedingly down-hearted, as the official correspondence demonstrates. One thing is evident, the "Ultramarine Council" did not receive any of "the missing £75,000,000 worth of gold" which had been extracted from the rock at depth *in those very territories of Southern Rhodesia containing the immense area of deep rock mines, of which the records do not make a single mention, and from which, it is explicitly stated, the natives traded no gold, and in the recent exploration of which rock mines no thirteenth- or fourteenth-century article has ever been found!*

The records definitely state that the Moors of 1505–1760 did not mine for gold, the reason assigned being that they found trading "easier." "They [the Moors] have no other occupation than trading" (I, 103). De Barros, speaking of the gold of the Moors, says, "The gold which the Moors obtain from the negroes" (VI, 169). The records contain innumerable references to the gold obtained by the Moors having been obtained by barter only.

Export of Gold Dust and Bar Gold, 1505–1760.

From 1505 to 1593 the whole of the gold from Sofala, Zambesi, and Mozambique was exported in the form of gold dust only. On this point the records are very explicit. From 1593 to 1649 gold was exported from Mozambique to India and Portugal in the form of dust and bars. In 1593 there is an official order that "bars" of gold (which appear from the records to have been in the form of bar adopted by the Portuguese in Europe) were to be stamped on their extremities and in the middle with the royal arms (IV, 40). In 1649 the King of Portugal, being advised of "frauds discovered at Mozambique with respect to the gold dust which is brought from those parts, . . . dispatched assayers to the fortress of Mozambique and the rivers of Cuama [Zambesi] to remedy the frauds" (IV, 307). The first suggestions as to smelting gold dust and making bars appear in 1593. In 1635 are further orders that these bars were to be stamped with the arms of the crown, "in the same manner as in the Spanish Indies," in order to prevent any misappropriation (IV, 260).

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The whole of the gold sent from the subsidiary trading stations of Sofala, Manica, Zambesi, and from the country of the *monomotapas*, to Mozambique, where alone the assayers were stationed, was sent, during the whole of the period from 1505 to 1760, in the form of gold dust only (IV, 360); moreover, "the currency is gold dust" (Monclaros, III, 208), therefore gold ingot moulds were not used in the interior by the Portuguese, nor by the natives, as these, it is stated, only traded the gold in dust form.

The references to "bars" and to the positions of the markings, and also the order that the stamping was to be done in the same way as Spanish gold bar was marked, appear to preclude any idea of the Portuguese having used either the double cross pattern or the *astragali* form of ingot, the very strong and only presumption being that they used the same shape of bar as they were accustomed to use in Portugal and Brazil (see *The Zimbabwe Pattern Ingot Mould not used, 1505-1760*, pp. 92-95.)

Slave-trading Ruins the Trade in Gold.

In 1645 the Portuguese, being disappointed with the small amount of trade in gold, commenced to trade in slaves (IV, 302). The slave trade was at times a Government monopoly, and at other times it was "farmed." Licences to trade in slaves were sold at a high figure, and there was a brisk demand for them, which returned a revenue, as the records state, exceeding that derived from the gold trade, beside which the records show that the slave trade itself was far more remunerative than the slow business of bartering loin-cloths and glass beads for gold dust. But gold-trading could not be carried on simultaneously with the slave trade. With the introduction of the slave trade in 1645 commerce in gold ceased. Raids for slaves were, for at least one hundred years, carried on most extensively in the very territories which had formerly yielded the gold supply.

The Portuguese complained with most astonishing naïveté at the disappearance of the gold trade, small as it

COMMERCE RUINED BY SLAVE TRADE

had been, and whined because "the natives fled to other lands!" Their fleeing is hardly a cause for wonder. Whole populations were decimated, and entire territories devastated. Dr. Livingstone, in 1865, stated that the effect of this slave trade could be observed in Zambesia even in his day, while the traditions of slave-trading by white men, not Arabs, still exist among the Ma-Karanga of Mashonaland, who still possess many traditions as to the Portuguese occupation (see Chapter V). Clearly there could have been no mining on the rock in such troublous times. We find from the records that this cruel and inhuman traffic completely destroyed the confidence of the natives in the Portuguese. The slaves were extensively exported to the Brazils and other Portuguese colonies, and were also supplied to the French colonies. Should any one be interested to read of slave raids, the prices of slaves, and the profits of the trade, he should peruse *The Records of South-eastern Africa*.

The Gold Trade an Admitted Failure.

The records contain, as can be seen, numberless official statements expressing the keen disappointment of the Portuguese at the non-success of their trade in gold, and they admit they had nothing whatever to show in results to compensate them for the vast expenditure in troops and administration, and for the appalling loss of life, "except a few dilapidated forts." Dr. Theal, in his *Abstract of the Records* (*Records*, Vol. VII), points out that the official documents of the Portuguese Governments testify to the utter failure of their trade in gold. This failure was piteously but quite frankly admitted by all those most directly concerned in the "Conquest of the Mines." This "conquest" the records show was never effected, for the very simple reason that the Portuguese never penetrated as far as the ancient mines' area, concerning which they never obtained any information, apparently being altogether unaware of its existence. No rumour of large mines on the rock ever reached their ears, not even in the form of Arab tradition or native legend. The records

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are absolutely silent as to the existence of any such mines.

Beyond the immediate vicinity of the Zambesi they never penetrated. The entire period of their occupation was but brief. They only succeeded in obtaining a temporary and precarious hold on Manica and the northern portion of North Mazoe District, and even from these places they were repeatedly driven out. Yet the ancient mines' area extended beyond those districts for almost 500 miles (804 K.) to the south, and several hundred miles to the south-east and south-west, an immense country covered thickly with pre-historic mines sunk deep in the rock and completely filled in and buried in the course of centuries by a process of natural siltation.

De Lima, in his *Possessões Portuguezas* (1859), in summing up the results of the "conquest," observes, "*O illusorio Potosi de Chicova*¹ ou o fabuloso *El Dovardo de Quiteve*,"² but this applies only to that small portion of the country penetrated by the Portuguese. All modern Portuguese historians, without exception, confirm the story of the utter failure of the gold-trading ventures of the early pioneers of their nation in South-east Africa, and, as did De Lima, describe the "conquest" as "illusory" and "fabulous."

In 1570 Father Monclaros, a local writer, reported, "Of the mines and abundance of gold and silver [of the country of the *monomotapa*] many have written at great length, but the sum of what is known is much less than the reports which are current in Portugal" (III, 253). Again, "He [the king] had more favourable reports of the abundant riches of the realms of *monomotapa* than were borne out by facts, or came within our experience" (III, 202). Soarez

¹ Chicova was a district on the south bank of the Zambesi, immediately west of the Kebra-basa Rapids. It was reported to contain gold and silver mines, which, for over one hundred and fifty years, the Portuguese endeavoured to discover. "This discovery was never effected."

² Quiteve was the auriferous hinterland of Sofala, and it extended inland for 150 miles (241 K.). De Barretto stated, "Not a grain of gold is to be found in Quiteve" (III, 489).

ROCK MINES NOT DISCOVERED

writes, "There is not so much gold in this country as has been reported" (I, 80-81), etc.

In 1619, over one hundred years after their arrival, the Portuguese were still engaged arranging for "the discovery and conquest of the mines [of the *monomotapa*]" (IV, 161). In the same year it was stated, "there is no certainty of their existence" (IV, 160), and "experienced officials should first certify their existence" (*ibid.*). In 1622 presents are ordered to be given to the *monomotapa* to secure his assistance in the facilitation of "the discovery of the mines" (IV, 184). In 1626 the Captain of Sofala is instructed "to search for the mines of *monomotapa*" (IV, 194). In 1628 are fresh orders from the king for "search to be made for the mines of gold and silver" (IV, 218). In 1634 De Rezende writes, "Up to the present no gold or silver mines have been found" (II, 411). In 1667 Father de Barreto, a local writer, ridicules the existence of the gold mines, and calls them "pretended mines" (III, 480). In 1697 the King of Portugal grants to Dominicans tithes of a reported mine at Sena, but taught by sad experience of misfortune, added, "if it is discovered" (IV, 496).

Thus for one hundred and ninety years after the arrival of the Portuguese in the country they had never discovered the gold mines on the rock! As the Portuguese power inland became broken about 1760, there was only sixty years left in which to make the discovery, and this was not made even within that time. As late as 1719 the King of Portugal was doubtful about the existence of gold mines in the country, and he ordered inquiries to be instituted as to whether the *monomotapa* (in 1607) did actually donate any gold mines to the Portuguese, "so that in the future, when there is a better opportunity, we may avail ourselves of his donation" (V, 72).

Summing up the history of the Portuguese possessions in East Africa during the seventeenth century, Andrade Corvo says, "We dragged out a sad existence, without progressing in colonisation, without developing commerce or industries, and without the famous gold and silver mines giving the marvellous results which were expected from them."

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Professor Maciver's attempt to twist the Portuguese records to fit in with his impossible theory is humorous indeed, but his assumption of a knowledge superior to that possessed by De Lima, Andrade Corvo, and the modern Portuguese historians is simply amazing.

"*O illusoro Potosi de Chicova! O fabuloso El Dovardo de Quiteve!*"

CHAPTER III

THE PRE-HISTORIC GOLD MINES OF RHODESIA—WHEN WAS THE GOLD EXTRACTED FROM THE ROCK?—NOT BETWEEN 900 AND 1760 A.D.

PART II

ARAB AND PERSIAN PERIOD, 900–1505 A.D.

“The dates of the Arab and Persian settlements, which the Portuguese of the sixteenth century found lining the coast from Cape Delgado to Cape Guardafui, are known from the chronicle of Kilwa. The most ancient is Magadexo, which was founded not earlier than the tenth century A.D. Sofala itself, as the chronicle states, was first colonised from Magadexo, and there is, therefore, no justification for ascribing to it an earlier date than the eleventh century A.D.”—Professor Maciver, *R. G. S. Journal*, April 1905, p. 335.

“Zimbabwe, being the great distributing centre, must have owed its very existence to that trade with the coast first opened up by the Arabs of Magadexo; the earliest possible date for any settlement there is the eleventh century A.D.”—*Mediaeval Rhodesia*, p. 86.

THE historic records of the Portuguese, and the evidence presented by the mines sunk to depth in rock in Rhodesia, as we have seen in Chapter II, most conclusively prove that the overwhelming bulk, if not all, of the more than £75,000,000 worth of gold obtained from the mines on the reefs was most certainly not extracted between 1505 and 1760 A.D. The evidences of the earlier historic period, 900 to 1505 A.D., will now be examined in order to ascertain whether such an approximate amount was extracted from the rock between some indefinite time in the eleventh century and 1505, when the Portuguese became masters of the Mozambique and Sofala coasts and islands, or even since 915 A.D., when Massoude visited the coast.

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East and South-east Africa before 900 A.D.

Since the Christian era, if not earlier, Zanzibar or its vicinity had been the place of resort for the Arab and Persian traders and the slave dealers of the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, and the coasts of Scinde and Gazerat.¹ "The Periplus" [80 B.C.], says Mr. Bent,² "mentions that the Arab settlement of Rhapta [believed to be Kilwa] was subject to the sovereign of Maphartes, a dependency of Sabia or Yemen." M. Grandidier, in his monumental work,³ quotes documents to show that the Comoros Islands, stepping stones between Madagascar and Rhodesia, were peopled in the reign of Solomon "by Arabs, or rather Idumean Jews from the Red Sea." Further, he says, "There is nothing surprising in the presence of an Idumean colony in Madagascar, for we know that from the very earliest times the Arabs of Yemen had frequented the East African seaboard at least as far as Sofala." Also, "the Jews and Arabian Semites were not the only peoples who had formerly commercial relations with the inhabitants of the African seaboard. From time immemorial these southern seas were navigated by the fleets of the Egyptians, probably even of the Chaldeans, Babylonians, Assyrians, Phœnicians, Tyrians." And again, "From the earliest times the Indian Ocean was traversed by Chaldean, Egyptian, Jewish, Arab, Persian, Indian and other vessels."⁴

Much later, about 739 A.D., the Zaide Arabs from Arabia settled on the East African coast and extended considerably to the southwards, as far as, if not south of, the Zambesi, and also into the interior, eventually becoming by mixture of blood incorporated with the natives, till they became

¹ *The Bantu of the Tenth Century*, by W. Hammond Tooke, *African Monthly*, Vol. I, Pt. I, pp. 21, 22.

² *The Ruined Cities of Mashonaland*, p. 224.

³ *Histoire Physique, Naturelle et Politique de Madagascar*, 1901, pp. 96, 100, quoted by Professor Dr. Keane in his introduction to *Great Zimbabwe* (R. N. Hall), p. xxxvii.

⁴ See *Was South-east Africa within the Ken of the Ancients?* Chapter XII.

E. AND S.E. AFRICA PRIOR TO 900 A.D.

hardly distinguishable from the Kafirs.¹ From Sir Richard Burton's work² it would appear that Persian intercourse with South-east Africa had preceded by some considerable time the arrival of traders and settlers of Arab race, an hypothesis to which the author of *The Bantu of the Tenth Century* states colour is lent by other considerations of a philological nature.

Professor Dr. Keane, in his reply to Professor Maciver's assertion that the ancients had no knowledge of the southern regions, said,³ "Mr. Maciver makes the hazardous statement that the ancients, even so late as the Roman Empire, had no knowledge of those parts, and he refers in proof to the *Periplus of the Red Sea*, which in those days meant the Indian Ocean. On the *Periplus* fresh light has recently been thrown by Edouard Glaser, who has discovered that it was composed by a certain Basil of Alexandria, who was evidently much interested in the trade of the Far East. This Basil describes the navigation of the east coast of Africa, down not merely to Cape Rhapta, but all the way to the extremity of the continent. He mentions the island of Menuthias, which must be absolutely identical with Madagascar and with no other island on the east coast. He says, further, that the Indian

¹ *Records of South-eastern Africa*, by Dr. G. M. Theal, Vol. VII, p. 465.

² *Zanzibar, City and Island*, 1872.

³ *Royal Geographical Society's Journal*, Vol. 27, p. 338. Also in Vol. 28, p. 408, Dr. Keane adds, "I should like to say that I do not rely [in support of the argument as to the antiquity of the Rhodesian remains] at all on the statement of Herodotus, which I none the less hold to be no 'legend,' but the truthful record of an historic event. In this I am supported by such weighty names as H. Wagner (*Phœnische Schiffer umfahren . . . den ganzen Erdtheil, begünst durch die Meeres-Shömungen an der Küste von Africa* (*Lehrbuch*, Bk. 6. p. 190)), E Reclus ('*The First Voyage of Circumnavigation, mentioned by Herodotus*' (Vol. 10, p. 27 of my English edition)), Dr. J. S. Keltie ('*There is no difficulty in crediting the story*' (*Partition of Africa*, p. 81)), and many others. I, no doubt, refer to the subject (*R. G. S. Journal*, Vol. 27, p. 338), but that is only to refute Mr. Maciver's paradoxical statement that the ancients had no knowledge of the austral regions. The story is also mentioned in my *Gold of Ophir*, p. 94, but only in a casual way, and no argument is built upon it."

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Ocean bended round westwards, and eventually mingled with the waters on the other side of Africa—that is, the Atlantic Ocean. Now, Basil lived in the time of Nero ; consequently it was then known that Africa was an island. But it was also known to be an island long before that period. Herodotus tells us plainly (IV, 42) that King Nechoes, about 610 B.C., equipped an expedition conducted by Phoenicians, which sailed round Africa in three years and came back by the Pillars of Hercules to Egypt, having started from the head of the Red Sea. He says, moreover, that Africa was thus proved to be circumnavigable, all except the isthmus of Suez. . . . Mention is made by the author of the *Periplus* of the ‘Fire men,’ a most appropriate epithet for the inhabitants of these Comoro Islands, where active volcanoes still exist almost in sight of Rhodesia. Therefore, there was no conceivable trouble for the Arabians and the Persians, who had fleets in the Indian Ocean, to reach these regions in quest for gold.”

Historic South-east Africa.

About 930 A.D. Arabs from the Persian Gulf founded Magadexo and Brava on the east coast, and during the eleventh century spread to Sofala. After the settlement of Magadexo, and about the end of the eleventh century, Persians settled at Kilwa, and according to the *Chronicles of Kilwa* in the course of time, about 1314, they usurped the Arab sovereignty and commerce along the whole Mozambique coast from Zanzibar, at least as far as and including Sofala, if not to Cape Correntes. On the arrival of the Portuguese at Sofala (1505) the Persians had been in possession of the coast for about one hundred and ninety years, De Goes stating that the King of Kilwa’s dominions “extended from Cape Correntes [south] almost to the town of Mombassa [north], a distance of 400 leagues of coast, besides a number of islands which lie along it ;”¹ and the records also state that the Persians or “Moors” of the Sofala district had, some time before the advent of

¹ *Records of South-eastern Africa*, Vol. III, p. 93.

HISTORIC S.E. AFRICA

the Portuguese, rebelled against the King of Kilwa and become independent (I, 16.)

But though Professor Maciver claims that "there is no justification for ascribing to it [Sofala, town and port] an earlier date than the eleventh century A.D.," the date of the first historic mention of the political foundation of Sofala does not and cannot by any means set a bar or limit to inquiries as to the earliest gold and ivory exporting activities from the coast or land of the country known centuries earlier as Sofala [Arabic = "low land" or "low coast"]; for Sofala was the name of the entire coast and also of a portion of the hinterland, and much later the name was bestowed upon the port in the same way as the names "River of Sofala" and "Mines of Sofala" were at a still later date respectively employed for the Buzi river and the mines of Mocaranga [Rhodesia].

If, therefore, Professor Maciver's claim as to the date of the founding of the settlement at Sofala were intended to set such a bar to inquiries as to more ancient activities on the Sofala coast, then such a suggestion can only provoke a smile; for, as will be seen later, there are ample historic evidences that for at least two centuries before the first historic mention of the political settlement of Sofala by the Arabs of Magadodoxo, and how much earlier no one can say, gold, ivory, and amber were being regularly exported to Arabia and India from the coast of Sofala, and also forwarded to China.

Massoude, "the Arabian Herodotus," visited East Africa some time before 915 A.D.,¹ later journeying to Malacca and the shores of China, and the Red and Caspian Seas, publishing his *Golden Meadows* in 943. In Mr. W. Hammond Tooke's valuable treatise on *The Bantu in the Tenth Century*, which gives the translation of Massoude's description of these regions and of its inhabitants and export trade, we find Massoude mentions Sofala. "They

¹ Maçoudi, *Les Praires d'Or*, Texte et Traduction par MM. Barbier de Meynard et Pavet de Courteille, tomes I-IX. Massoude states, "My last voyage from the island of Kanbalu to Oman took place in the year 304" [A.H. = A.D. 915].

PRE-HISTORIC RHODESIA

[the Zeng¹] established themselves in this country [east and south-east coast], and extended as far as Sofala." Also, "Just as the Sea of China extends to the country of Sila [Japan], so the limits of the Sea of Zeng² are the countries of Sofala and of the Waq-Waq;"³ and "navigators advance over the Sea of Zeng as far as the island of Kanbalu and Sofala. The merchants of Syraf are in the habit of navigating this sea."

¹ *Zeng*, Persian, signifying "land of the blacks" (Sir R. Burton). "Zenj or Zeng is first mentioned by Ptolemy, and is clearly applied to some district in Eastern Africa on or near the coast, and in the immediate neighbourhood of what is now known as Zanzibar, formerly Zangebar, or Bar-ez-Zeng, a name which applies to the country of the Zeng" (Tooke quoting Torrend).

² "The Sea of Zeng or of Zanzibar may be described as that portion of the Indian Ocean lying south of the Arabian Sea and north of Madagascar" (Tooke). Ancient geographers attributed the dangerous nature of the Sea of Zeng to the numerous banks, shoals, islets, and violent currents with which it abounds. Massoude writes, "Never have I known a more dangerous sea than the Sea of Zeng." He also alludes to the Mozambique current, which flows off the Sofala coast, as "a current of water which it is difficult to withstand on account of its extreme rapidity."

³ The Wak-Wak of Massoude (915 A.D.) and of Edrisi's map (1154) is believed to be the country of the Bushmen who were then already forced down south by the Bantu. Edrisi's map shows Wak-Wak well to the south of Sofala, as far south of Sofala as Zanzibar was north, thus placing it, of course conjecturally, well to the south of Cape Correntes. *Wak-Wak*, or *Vak-Vak*, is the ordinary Bantu name for both Bushmen and baboons, the Bantu always classifying these together. The Bushman paintings on the rocks in Mashonaland are said by the Ma-Karanga to have been the work of the Wak-Wak (Bushmen). The Bushmen had by 1629 been pressed to just south of Natal, for we read (I, pp. 44-6, 230), "The language of these people could not be understood. They are not quite black. They make sudden stops in their speech, have no towns, wander like hordes of Arabs, their huts are made of mats, and they use no tillage, their weapons are darts and bows, their huts like bakers' ovens are moved about with the seasons according to the barrenness or abundance of the ground, or of the wild fruit." In 1589 the Ma-Karanga had arrived south of Cape Correntes. Shortly after 1629 the Bushmen just south of Natal were supplanted by the Bantu. But all this information was known to the philologists long before the records were re-discovered. This descent of the Bantu raises a most vital issue both as to the erection, and also the devastation, of the Zimbabwe Temple, which issue Professor Maciver has apparently lost sight of or has not considered,

SURVIVAL OF AN ANCIENT TRADE

Massoude also states that the best amber was found along these coasts, and that it was exported to Irak and Persia. In the Portuguese period amber was one of the principal articles of export from the Sofala coast. But Massoude also describes an immense trade, evidently established long before his time, in ivory, which was sent from these coasts to Oman and "exported thence to China and India," and gives the value of the tusks which were sent to Bagdad. He speaks of the country of Sofala as where the Arabs of his time went habitually to obtain gold from the natives.¹

Thus within a few years of 900 A.D. we have most definite historic evidence that almost, if not quite, two hundred years before the first historic mention of the political settlement of the Magadexo Arabs at Sofala there was an extensive and long-established export trade in gold, ivory, and amber being carried on between the country of Sofala and Arabia and Persia. How long this trade had been in existence before Massoude's time no one can say, for ancient trades with remote parts of the world, such as he mentions, were not wont to be of sudden growth and development. At any rate, long before Massoude wrote far-distant China was receiving ivory from the Sofala coast. Most probably, as many scientists affirm, and this recently, and in the face of Professor Maciver's assertions, the trade in Massoude's time was but the survival of a trade in gold and ivory which might very well have existed here even before the commencement of the Christian era.²

Sir Harry Johnstone, one of the greatest living author-

¹ "The character of the imports [mentioned by Massoude] forbids the idea that gold was exported in any great quantity, notwithstanding its alleged abundance, and what there was was probably derived from alluvial and river washings" (Tooke).

² In the light of Massoude's definite statement as to the established trade between Arabia and Sofala which was existing in 915 A.D., it is strange that Professor Maciver should state (*M. R.* 2), "Unaided documentary evidence does not permit us to suppose that there was any oriental traffic even with Sofala prior to its establisament [? prior to its first historic mention] as a mart by the inhabitants of Magadexo," for which he states, "there is no justification for ascribing an earlier date than the eleventh century A.D."

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ties on African peoples, especially on the Bantu, in replying to Professor Maciver's conclusions, stated:¹ "I should say my own convictions remain relatively unshaken that there was at a period at least as early as the birth of Christ—I believe earlier—an incursion into this country [Rhodesia] of a Semitic race of teachers. I cannot otherwise explain the gold-mining, the soapstone birds, the phalli, and the several other features in 'those remains' which are so utterly unlike anything that has ever been made by any race of Bantu negroes. Neither is there any evidence to show they could have been made by Hottentots. My own belief is that the presence in Africa, south of the Zambesi, of Bantu negroes is a relatively modern phase. The first violent eruption of the Zulus may have driven away the pre-Islamic Arabs, and yet not have completely caused the gold-mining to cease. I do not think Mr. Maciver having found Nankin pottery in the foundations² of one or more of these structures should induce us to give up too readily the belief that at some period of possibly more than 2000 years ago Arabians, or people from the direction of Arabia, did make their way down the coast of Africa in search for gold."

Professor Maciver's attempt to ignore Massoude's record and to limit and underrate in such a peremptory manner, and without justification, the discoveries and traffics of the ancients, and the influences which, from surviving local

¹ *Royal Geographical Society's Journal*, Vol. 27, p. 340.

² As shown in Chapter IX, no Nankin china has ever been, or ever will be, discovered under any of the foundations of the main wall of the Zimbabwe Temple, nor in the cement work (actually clay, not the granite cement used in making the lower floors of the Temple) of the Ma-Karanga hut in No. 15 enclosure; and the "valid chronological argument" which Professor J. L. Myres bases on its alleged discovery in these positions vanishes, while Professor Maciver's assertion that the date of the Temple "is decided by fragments of china, Nankin ware, and mediæval Arabic glass" is thus shown to be entirely without justification.

But with regard to both Dhlo-dhlo and N'Natali, the "evidences" are the same (see Chapter XIII), and are found on examination to be equally unacceptable, for Government Surveyors have reported that Professor Maciver's trenches have proved that he had not "observed the excavator's primary axiom, and dug to bed-rock."

SOFALA IN THE TENTH CENTURY

conditions, they evidently appear to have exerted by contact with the barbarous inhabitants of South-east Africa, is somewhat astonishing. Especially is this the case seeing that South-east Africa was far nearer to Arabia than China and Japan, and other remote places so frequently mentioned by ancient geographers, and that the monsoon both to and from the Sofala Sea would, as navigators of to-day assert, very greatly facilitate intercourse between Arabia and the Mozambique coast.¹

Before "Sofala," Sofala was.

But long before the first historic mention of the political establishment of the Magadodoxo Arabs at Sofala at some time in the eleventh century, Arabian and Persian writers had frequently alluded to the ivory and gold trade of Sofala. Even before Magadodoxo itself had been established (about 930 A.D.) Massoude, as we have seen, had described the country of Sofala, its people, and its gold and ivory export trade. Ibn Al' Wardy² in 957 had also described Sofala 't il Dhab ["the low-land of gold"], stating that "the most remarkable produce of this country is its quantity of native gold."

Further, at the time which Professor Maciver claims as the first (?) settlement at Sofala, a Persian geographer, Albyrouny, had already described the Sofala coast as far as Cape Correntes, and mentioned the standing export trade in gold and ivory which existed between Sofala, the Red Sea, India, and China. Now follows in order of time the first mention of the political settlement of the Magadodoxo Arabs at Sofala at some time in the eleventh cen-

¹ "From the Red Sea to the coast of Africa is a very easy navigation and full of ports" (II, 436).

The records also frequently allude to "the facility afforded by the monsoons" (V, 183), and state that the Arabs from the Red Sea, the Persians and Indians availed themselves of the east and west monsoons in voyaging to and from the Mozambique coast. This was also the practice of the Portuguese. Expressions such as "letters by this monsoon," "by next monsoon," "by last monsoon" being very general in the records.

² Cited in *The Ruined Cities of Mashonaland*, p. 231.

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tury, there being, Professor Maciver claims, "no justification for ascribing to it an earlier date." Then follows in the twelfth century Edrisi's mention of the established trade of "Sofala" with India, and of "the abundance of gold in the mountains behind Sofala."

But before "Sofala," Sofala was. History explicitly shows that the Magadoxo Arabs did not originate the gold export trade of Sofala, for, as we have seen, Arab and Persian records prove that it had been in existence at least two centuries earlier, and then was a continuance of a still earlier trade. "The merchants of Oman and Syraf," in the course of their trade with the country of Sofala, must have used some ports on the Sofala coast, and the consideration of the location of the actual sites of such ports or trading stations is altogether immaterial to the argument as to when the first contact of the natives of Sofala and of its auriferous hinterland with Arab, Indians, or other foreign peoples took place. Most probably the sites were at the mouths of the Zambesi, or at the mouths of the great waterways into the interior of the Sofala country provided by the Pungwe, Buzi (near Sofala), Sabi, and Inhambane rivers, or on Sofala Bay, if not at the very site of Sofala itself. All that we need concern ourselves with at present is : *the historic fact that the intrusion of foreign influence on the natives of ancient Rhodesia, brought about by trading, was in full operation before 900 A.D., and that even then it had already been exerted for some indefinite period earlier.*

Unsettled State of Sofala, 900–1505 A.D.

The history of the Sofala country and its hinterland from 900 to 1505 A.D. is one of un settlement and wars. Abou-Zeid Hassau, who wrote in the tenth century, mentions wars as going on in the interior. Massoude records¹ that just before his visit to the Mozambique (915) a great wave of the barbarous Zeng, known to be the Bantu, had extended from the north and settled on the coast and hinterland of Sofala, whose advent Mr. Bent, and also the mining experts who have examined the ancient rock

¹ *The Ruined Cities of Mashonaland*, p. 232.

DISRUPTION OF MOCARANGA

mines in Rhodesia, as well as authorities on the Bantu race, believe caused the final abandonment of the rock-mining operations in what is now known as Rhodesia.¹ Of one thing we may be certain, whether this conjecture as to the abandonment of the rock mines be correctly founded or not, such a descent or extension of the Bantu as is mentioned by Massoude must have dislocated for a very considerable period the mining and the washing for "native gold," and the export trade from these coasts. Whether the appearances and evidences noticed by the subsequent Arab writers warrant any inference that the natives of 900 to 1505 A.D. were skilled in rock-mining will be considered later.

But the period from the eleventh century to 1505 comprises two different periods of occupation, or, more correctly, of connection by trading—that of the Arabs of Magadoxo and that of the Persians of Kilwa, which latter during this period usurped the sovereignty and commerce of the Arabs. The Magadoxo Arabs are shown to have won their possessions by the sword, and their supplacers the Persians, as shown in the chronicles of Kilwa, were long engaged in wars with their rivals before they were able to establish a footing on the adjoining islands along the coast. Both rivals needed to "fortify themselves against the Caffres," and both were continuously at war with coast tribes, while both kingdoms were subject to internal rebellions and civil wars. How trading in gold fared during these periods may well be imagined.

Further, this period was also marked towards its close by the disruption and dismemberment of the most powerful and most extensive Bantu kingdom yet known to research. The large kingdoms of Sabia and of the Quiteve successfully rebelled against the *monomotapa*, the King of Mocaranga, which country had yielded the gold supply. The civil wars which preluded this disruption are referred to by tradition in the records, as also the subsequent state of chronic warfare between the *monomotapas* and their erstwhile rebellious kingdoms, all of which are matters of

¹ See *Exodus of Ancient Miners*, Chapter X.

PRE-HISTORIC RHODESIA

Portuguese history. On the arrival of the Portuguese in 1505 they found the Ma-Karanga to be engaged in "continual wars inland," and that the former gold export trade had reached vanishing point (see *ante*, Chapter II, *Unsettled State of the Country, 1505-1760*). The much-vaunted gold-trading port of Sofala too had become but "a village" (Barbosa, I, 105), and its inhabitants but "low-class Moors" who were "more Kafirs than Moors."

Natives and Gold, 900-1505 A.D.

The export trade in gold and ivory from Sofala could only have originated in the first instance by a foreign demand, for Massoude (915), speaking of the natives of the land behind Sofala, stated they never used for their own purpose the gold and ivory with which the country abounded. "They employ iron in their ornaments instead of gold or silver." Al' Wardy (957) wrote, "The most remarkable produce of this country [Sofala] is its quantity of native gold . . . in spite of which the natives adorn their persons with ornaments of brass." Edrisi, in the twelfth century, wrote, "In all the country of Sofala they find gold in abundance. Nevertheless the inhabitants prefer brass, making their ornaments of it."¹

But Massoude described the natives of his time (915 A.D.)

¹ Professor Maciver suggests that brass came into this country with the Portuguese in 1505. This, if correct, would provide some side evidence in support of his theory of the "equality of the remains." He states that Professor W. Gowland reported that the brass rings and bangles "were imported by the Portuguese for use in barter" (*M. R.* 104). This is correct in a sense, but the fact of the records stating that such brass articles were used by the Portuguese as barter goods does not limit their introduction to not earlier than 1505. However, the records state that on the arrival of the Portuguese they found the natives wearing brass ornaments. Surely, Professor Maciver might have informed Professor Gowland of the definite statements of Al' Wardy (957 A.D.) and Edrisi and others that the natives wore brass and not gold ornaments. Al' Wardy *wrote fully a century before Professor Maciver's date for the foundation of the town and port of Sofala, and 500 years before the Portuguese arrived, while Edrisi wrote fully 400 years before their arrival!* These facts effectually dispose of one argument for the "equality of the remains."

'BARBARIANS' AND 'CANNIBALS'

exactly as we find them to-day, so truthfully that from the mass of evidence he and other Arab and Persian writers provide "we may," as Mr. Bent says, "affirm that for a thousand years at least there has been no change in the condition of this country and in its inhabitants." This opinion but correctly reflects the unanimously expressed belief of every single student of the Bantu people.

The natives, "black and naked," "barbarians," and "cannibals," of 915-1505 were not of any higher intelligence than were the natives of 1505-1760 as described in the Portuguese records. Could the natives of 915-1505 have been the "skilled miners and assayers" who worked on the rock at depth in Rhodesia? There can only be one answer to such a question. The Portuguese (1505-1760) confessed that they themselves did not possess the mining knowledge to enable them to work the mines on the rock in Mocaranga. That being so, one cannot suppose the natives of 1505-1760 to have been more skilful and intelligent than the Portuguese; neither can one imagine, with historic record testifying to the contrary, the barbarians of 915-1505 to have been more intelligent than the natives of 1505-1760.

From the Arab writers, and from the evidences obtained by the Portuguese on their arrival on the Sofala coast as to the low condition of the degenerated half-breed Moors, and the vanishing point which the gold export trade had then undoubtedly reached (see authorities cited, Chapter II), and from the indisputable evidences presented by the actual rock mines, as will be seen later, it is impossible to conceive that the mines at depth on the rock in Rhodesia had been sunk between 900 and 1505.

The early Arab writers show that the gold was brought to the coast by the natives themselves, just as Barbosa (1514), in describing the trade of the Moors, states that "the natives bring to Sofala the gold which they sell to the Moors,"¹ and Massoude (915 A.D.) had previously stated the Arabs of his time "obtained gold from the natives." We learn that the Moors were restricted to

¹ *The Ruined Cities of Mashonaland*, p. 231.

PRE-HISTORIC RHODESIA

the coast. There were no Moorish settlements and markets in the interior, though at a very late date, and only just before 1500 (VII, 478), the Moors had a settlement near the present Sena on the Zambesi within easy reach of the coast, this being their only station inland. The natives of those times consequently had to rely upon their own initiative. They had no foreign directors of mining. The Arab writers, as well as the Chronicles of Kilwa, are absolutely silent as to any rock-mining on the part of the natives, and nothing they contain in the slightest suggests, much less warrants, such an inference ; while the records of the Portuguese unmistakably declare that no rock-mining operations were being carried on between 1505 and 1760, nor were there any traditions of such operations (see Chapter II).

The gold trade of Sofala from Massoude's time down to 1760 was, as described by the old writers, exactly similar in every respect to the gold trade carried on at the west coast of Africa. In describing the washing soil and sand in rivers for gold by the natives on the east coast nothing different has been written to what has been written to describe the gold-winning operations on the west coast. A description of one is an accurate description of the other. Both used quills, as both use them to-day, but quills are not very suggestive of rock-mining operations. Both were of Bantu stock, but why the east country natives should, as Professor Maciver's argument would suggest, be so far superior in intelligence and mechanical skill to the natives on the west coast is not explained. The alluvial areas of Rhodesia have been most extensively worked in diggings in the soil by natives at some much later time than that during which the mines on the rock were sunk.

The Mines "Ancient."

But the mines were declared by early Portuguese writers to have been "ancient," and of a profound antiquity. The dozen references in the records to certain of the ruins being "ancient" and "very ancient" give a clue to what these

ROCK MINES WERE ‘ANCIENT’

writers meant when they stated the mines were “ancient,” *i.e.* their frequent references to their having been built in Solomonic times. In three instances regarding mines they credit them to the time of Solomon, while for the others they employ the description “ancient” and “most ancient.” De Conto, in referring to the mines of Masapa, states they were so old that they were the mines “whence the Queen of Sheba obtained the greater part of the gold she offered for the temple of Solomon” (VI, 367). De Barros states, “The mines . . . are very old, and no gold has been extracted from them for years,” and contends the region is the Agysymba of Ptolemy (VI, 268). He further states that the mines of Toróa¹ were “the most ancient known in the country” (VI, 267). Dos Santos uses the expression, “In the midst of the ancient mines,” and he relates the Arab tradition that the gold of the Queen of Sheba came from these mines, the antiquity of which he himself also ascribed to Solomonic times, and connects their age with that of the Fura² Ruins, which he describes as “some fragments of old walls and ancient ruins of stones” (VII, 275). Father Dos Santos visited the interior, and the district Manzovo (Mazoe), where these ruins and mines are situated. He is considered to be the most accurate of all the Portuguese writers. Dr. Theal states that he was by far the best educated man who wrote upon this country, and also the most reliable. Livio Sanuto, in his *Geographia dell Africa*, declared the mines of Manica were “ancient.” There are several other references in the records to the mines being “ancient.”

Pre-Historic Rock-mining.

The evidences from the rock mines in Rhodesia prove that the pre-historic miners possessed only the crudest mining appliances, and yet they must have mined from depth far more than 100,000,000 tons of reef, much of which was rock of a refractory nature, this estimate being made by admittedly competent mining experts before half

¹ Toróa was in the kingdom of Sabia, and not in Mocaianga.

² Chicaranga, *Refure* = the highest among the high.

PRE-HISTORIC RHODESIA

the area of the ancient mines had been discovered.¹ Nowhere else in the world are such extensive pre-historic gold mines sunk to depth in rock to be found as in Rhodesia.

In many instances the mines were sunk to water-level, beyond which the old miners could not sink. Many average from 70 ft. (21·33 M.) to 150 ft. (45·72 M.) in depth, while the reefs have been hewn out at these depths for lengths of 300 ft. (91·44 M.) and 500 ft. (152·4 M.) to 1,750 ft. (533·4 M.), the Mystery Reef showing a worked-out length of 4000 ft. (1219·2 M.) at depth, while the Urangwe Reef shows distinct lines of deep workings extending to 7500 ft. (2148·84 M.). But an infinitude of other instances could be cited from reports of mining surveyors of the Rhodesian companies, which are accessible to all, and from which, almost eight years ago, I extracted and published descriptions of over one hundred ancient rock mines found in widely different parts of Southern Rhodesia.²

But to reach these lower measures, and to work them, the ancients removed the rock from long distances on either side of the reefs at these depths and along their lengths, in one instance to a width of 150 ft. (45·72 M.), thus making huge open workings. To do this they must have taken away rock, other than the gold-bearing reef, to an amount four or five times greater than the actual reef which they removed. This is a feature seen over

¹ As shown in Chapter II, several mining engineers consider this quantity of reef to be far under the actual quantity extracted by the old rock miners, some placing it at about three times this amount.

² The following are some of the depths of rock mines shown in the official mining reports of the various companies: Geelong, 260 ft. (79·24 M.); Hard Times, 150 ft. (45·72 M.); Alliance, 145 ft. (44·19 M.); Celtic, 150 ft. (45·72 M.); Minx, 200 ft. on incline (60·75 M.); Kameel, Oceolo, Susannah, Thornhill, Early Morn, and a large number of others considerably deeper than 100 ft. (30·37 M.). In 1899 the Mines Commissioners' report showed 950 miles (1397 K.) of lateral extent of claims pegged on gold reefs, 99 per cent. of which were pegged on the sites of ancient workings. In some instances given the rock worked by the ancients was too hard for the modern roburite explosive, some old mines being also on diorite dykes.

PRE-HISTORIC ROCK-MINING

an area of 700 by 600 miles (1126×965 K.). Many mines, however, were worked with shafts, vertical and incline, and adits, the pillars of reef left to support the roof or "hanging wall" at depth still remaining.

Every sub-district on the gold areas of Rhodesia yields evidences of millions of tons of gold-bearing rock having been mined in some pre-historic time. From the M'topata district and within a small area "no less than one and a half million tons of reef" are reported as having been taken; in the Inswezwe district "millions of tons of reef" have been extracted. On one property, located on the site of an ancient mine, and now crushing with declared results of over 10 dwts. (131 gr.) to the ton (1.01 milliers) over the plates, and the tailings only estimated, "are several ancient workings on the same line of reef, and these ancient workings are in size not above the average of those generally found. One chamber of one of these numerous workings on the property gives an astonishing result. Taking the length, breadth, and depth of the reef extracted by the ancients from this chamber with the fire-assay values of the reef untouched, disregarding altogether the possibility of the ancients having also worked rich 'leaders' (and these are numerous on the property), and making liberal allowance for loss caused by crude methods of recovering gold, we find that the gold extracted from this one chamber out of many on the property was, in present-day value, not less than £32,000 sterling."

Mr. J. Hays Hammond, a gold-mining expert of worldwide reputation, in the early days of 1894, before half of the ancient mines' area had been discovered, and after an inspection, as he states, of only a few of the then known ancient districts, reports: "That an enormous amount of gold has been obtained from these workings in the past is, however, unquestionable. Millions of pounds sterling worth of gold has undoubtedly been derived from these sources."¹

¹ See later in this chapter *The Astragalus Ingot Mould*, wherein Professor Gregory states his belief, founded on an inspection of the mines, that many of these were sunk in ancient times, and that the skill displayed in mining was not that of the negro.

PRE-HISTORIC RHODESIA

But what heightens the mystery is that while the ancients worked both high-grade and low-grade rock with equal persistency, and most laboriously worked millions of tons of exceedingly low-grade ore, "they picked out rich shoots, patches, and pockets with marvellous cleverness, proving themselves most skilful miners and metallurgists."

As evidence that the skill of the ancient prospectors is fully recognised by highly trained and experienced mining surveyors of to-day, it may be stated that quite two-thirds of all the registered gold claims in Rhodesia have been pegged on the lines of ancient workings ; "the experience in this country now amounts to this, that, given a regular and extensive run of old workings on a block of claims, it is almost a certainty that a payable mine will be found on development of the ground" (*Rhodesia Chamber of Mines' Report*, 1899). Mr. Walter Currie, consulting engineer, also states that his "experience has invariably proved that where old workings exist, they indicate more or less accurately the length of the pay shoot below." That these old miners were skilled is beyond doubt. Their skill was not "gradually evolved" in this country, for it is displayed in its most perfect excellence, chiefly in those rock mines which are admittedly the most ancient rock mines in the country. It was introduced here already perfected, and by people who were acquainted with mining in Arabia or India, or both.

These ancients knew exactly the value of the reef they were working upon, though the rock, not showing a speck of gold, and presenting no outward evidence of its value, could only have been estimated by assay. But they were also able to remove reef which is of such a refractory nature, that to-day mining companies working on identically the same reef, and mining the same class of rock, can only deal with it by the liberal employment of dynamite, the cost of which is always a heavy item in the "working expenses" of almost every mine in Rhodesia. When one considers the enormous amount of rock removed by the ancients, and the difficulty experienced in modern operations on the same sites as worked by the ancients, one

PRESENT CONDITION OF ROCK MINES

must be fairly staggered with surprise, not only by their skill but by their industry.

No Kafir chief, at any rate since Massoude's time (915 A.D.), however powerful he may have been, could have called his people to work such mines on the rock on this vast area. Kafir chiefs cannot create "culture." Such an academic suggestion, recently most seriously made, has considerably amused mining authorities both in Rhodesia and on the Rand. On the alluvial or shed-gold areas local Bantu chiefs probably did direct the soil-washing operations of their people, though the records state the natives paid no tribute in labour except to "weed, dig, sow, and gather" the chief's crops (VII, 222), the alluvial workings on the surface being obviously of a much later date, the evidences, as shown in Chapter II, pointing to their having been worked by very old Ma-Karanga people. But any gold so obtained, whatever its amount may have been, does not account for a single pennyweight of the more than £75,000,000 obtained from the rock of the country.

Present Condition of Rock Mines.

If any further evidences were needed in order to establish the pre-historic character of the mines in Rhodesia, it is to be found in the fact that all these gigantic workings in rock are now buried in naturally silted soil, there having been no artificial filling in of these old workings. There is not a clean ancient stope at depth to be found, for so completely buried out of sight are the great majority of the large mines, that even mining engineers and qualified prospectors have passed and repassed close to and across their sites, and yet have never been able to notice anything suspicious in the nature of the ground to suggest their proximity to ancient mines. Yet many of these mines are in positions where filling in by natural siltation would be an exceedingly slow process, requiring, one might very reasonably imagine, centuries of time.

So entirely buried and obliterated are some of these ancient mines that even now, with the skilful methods of modern experts, it is almost impossible to locate their sites,

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while the presence of others is only evidenced by slight unevenness in the surface of the ground. Yet these mines are silted up naturally from a depth, in some instances, of from 150 ft. (45·72 M.) to the levels of their mouths, and the huge spaces once occupied by deep and yawning concavities in the rock are now level plains covered with forests of full-grown trees, including the non-indigenous *mahobohobo*, which is only to be found on the ancient mines' area, while fresh ancient mines are still being discovered every month.

Many of the modern shafts are sunk straight down for from 50 ft. (15·24 M.) to 100 ft. (30·48 M.) through this silted matter, which in the course of long centuries has set so hard that it will allow of such shafts being sunk through it. Descending in a cage some 50 ft. (15·24 M.) to 70 ft. (21·33 M.) or more through this natural siltation one can examine its composition, and where it ends on the ancient stope one can notice just where the ancients left off work, below which point the shaft passes deeper through the virgin rock.

But the condition of these rock mines also shows that the mining operations covered many centuries of time. The whole face of the country for 700 by 600 miles (1126 x 965 K.) testifies to ancient activities of an extent almost beyond human comprehension. Mr. J. Hays Hammond remarks: "It is not improbable, in fact the consensus of opinion is that these reefs have in most cases been worked at different periods." All the areas were not worked at the same time. The work was progressive, and as one area was worked out and exhausted another area was prospected, worked out and exhausted, and area after area was mined, till eventually territories several hundreds of miles in extent became honeycombed to water-level with deep ancient workings, all testifying to most tediously slow and unmolested operations carried on stage by stage. The expert mining opinion is "that sections of the country were successively brought under the influence of ancient Asiatics, and their operations extended over many centuries."

NO BARTERING FOR GOLD

Further, these vast operations testify to continuous and unbroken centuries of time devoted to rock-mining. There are no evidences of rude dislocations in labour caused by wars or dynastic changes, or by the caprice of local potentates in various parts of the huge area. No single Bantu chief has been known to rule over such an extent of country, and yet identical methods of working were adopted in every single mine. The venture, for it appears to have been a single venture, must have been a sovereign one, slave-labour being strongly presupposed and bartering unnecessary. A visit to these numerous workings makes "loin-cloths," "glass beads," and "cocoa-nuts," for which the later natives, from Massoude's time (915 A.D.) until 1760, traded the gold, and also the "quills" for holding gold dust, somewhat trivial and ridiculous. Most probably there was no trading required for the gold so extracted. At any rate, there is not any suggestion that there was mining by individual natives, or even by individual tribes of Bantu, in the different territories on the area covered.

Hand-crushing the Rock.

But what possible evidence could be produced that over 100,000,000 tons of rock were ever crushed and ground by hand by any Bantu people "not undifferentiated," as Professor Maciver asserts, "from other South African people," since Massoude's time? We know exactly what a ton of average quartz ought to yield under modern stamps and over the plates. But the ancients had no batteries, no roller-mills, no dry-sorters, no cyanide reduction plant, and none of the modern appliances for reducing the ore. With their crude methods and laborious processes of hand labour, they must have failed to obtain anything approaching the full value of gold out of every ton of rock they crushed. Therefore we can safely increase the estimate of the tonnage of rock they mined and crushed even without allowing for crushing "blank," of which, of course, they must have had more than the usual quantity.

Any one watching natives, on their knees, grinding corn on a flat stone, a two-handed process, knows well how

PRE-HISTORIC RHODESIA

exceedingly laborious grinding corn actually is. But to contemplate the crushing by hand of far more than 100,000,000 tons of rock,¹ much of which was refractory, and of exceedingly low grade, by Bantu people as we know them to-day, or as Massoude and the Arab writers and the Portuguese records describe them, is simply impossible. There is no reference since 915 A.D. to any such a process; there is not a particle of local evidence forthcoming to show that such crushing and reducing operations ever took place within historic times. Historic references, expert mining opinion, and authorities on the Bantu unanimously and emphatically repudiate any such suggestion.

Present Bantu not the original Rock-miners.

Whether the rock mines at depth were the work of any Bantu people as labourers is problematical. Many authorities consider this impossible. But, at any rate, they were not the work of any present known Bantu people, who, as Professor Maciver claims, "were not undifferentiated from other South African people." Yet where to-day are such other Bantu who have ever been known to work many scores of millions of tons of rock which, without assay, they could not have known contained a particle of gold? Such an off-hand assertion by one totally unacquainted with Bantu peoples, that Bantu of later times than the tenth century sank the rock mines in Rhodesia, and this in the face of a great volume of expert mining evidence, the expressed convictions of students of the Bantu, whose life-long experiences of Bantu people qualify them to speak with far more than mere academic authority, and the evidences to the contrary contained in the Portuguese records, unmistakably places the *onus probandi* on Professor Maciver.

At present those who, with most excellent reason, hold the contrary view can very well afford to wait with amused interest until Professor Maciver first attempts to

¹ As shown earlier (p. 76), this estimate is considered to be far under the actual quantity, some experts placing it at about three times that amount.

NO ROCK-MINING TOOLS

make out his case. Had these rock-mining operations been carried on by any present Bantu within the comparatively recent period he suggests, the impression on the natives caused by such operations over so vast an area, and covering centuries of time, must have been such as to have been obvious on such Bantu of to-day. But where are such impressions?

Even historic records of five hundred years ago prove conclusively that in those remote times the Bantu had received no such impression. Quite the contrary. Some writers say the royal insignia of the *monomotapa* was an agricultural hoe, "as a sign that he is a cultivator of the land." The records show that the "mining" in earth was with plantation mattocks! The only tribute in labour paid to their kings by the natives was "to weed, dig, sow, and gather the crops reserved in their village for the king. This is the only tribute they pay to the king, and nothing further" (Dos Santos, VII, 222). "The Kafirs are careful to choose laborious wives [not for rock-mining purposes], but they are very few, for they are all indolent and lovers of idleness, therefore they are poor, their favourite exercise being hunting wild animals" (Dos Santos, VII, 208). "The Kafirs are not fond of work, and are more given to dancing and feasting than to husbandry." The women did all the plantation work, as "the men roam about, converse with each other, fish, hunt, and live merrily" (Dos Santos, VII, 306). What an ideal picture of to-day!

Dos Santos, who spent eleven years in the country of the "mines," which he describes from personal visits as alluvial earth-washing areas, in giving a list of native articles does not include any mining tools (VII, 209), and among the implements of the Ma-Karanga of to-day there is not a single object which by any possible straining can be claimed as a survival of any rock-mining tool (see Chapter II, *Natives and "Mines,"* for definite historic statements that the Ma-Karanga of 1505 to 1760 not only did not mine the rock, but had no implements for such a purpose).

But the Ma-Karanga can be shown to have been far less

PRE-HISTORIC RHODESIA

migratory than any other Bantu people south of the Equator. To-day they occupy in exactly the same territory as they were occupying over five hundred years ago. In 1505 their kingdom had already been disrupted, but how long before that time their kingdom had existed no one knows, still less when the Ma-Karanga founded it, for powerful Bantu kingdoms are not usually born ready-made in a night, or still less as to the time they first arrived south of the Zambezi. We can only judge they were occupying the same territory some centuries before the Portuguese arrived by three evidences—

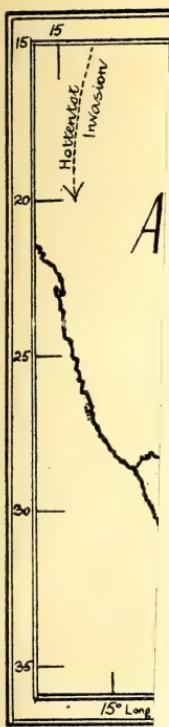
(1) That according to Bantu authorities, and evidences presented, the Ma-Karanga had arrived south of the Zambezi at so early and indefinite a time before certain other later intrusions of Bantu from the north, with whom they had in some former period, and in the north, been in intimate contact, that their vocabularies had become entirely distinct, and their racial characteristics surprisingly different.¹

¹ Arrival of the Bantu.

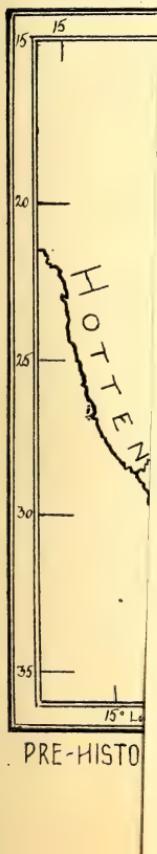
Dr. Theal and other authorities, on philological and ethnological evidences, consider that the first migration of Bantu hordes to the south of the Zambezi took place not much earlier than 700 or 800 A.D., and that the Ma-Karanga arrived on the rock-mines' area some time later. Massoude speaks of the arrival of the Bantu south to Sofala as having taken place just prior to his time—915 A.D.—and the unmistakable inference is that both earlier Arabs, Persians, and Indians were very well acquainted with these auriferous regions long before any Bantu had arrived. He states that the Bantu had then extended southwards to the country of the Wak-Wak (Bushmen, and one of the names employed by the Bantu for the Bushmen, and known to this day). Massoude's topography is fairly accurate geography, and would place the country of the Wak-Wak about Cape Corventes. This appears to be confirmed later by Edrisi's map, whereon the Wak-Wak occupies a somewhat similar position, at any rate, not further south than Inhambane.

Arrival of the Ma-Karanga.

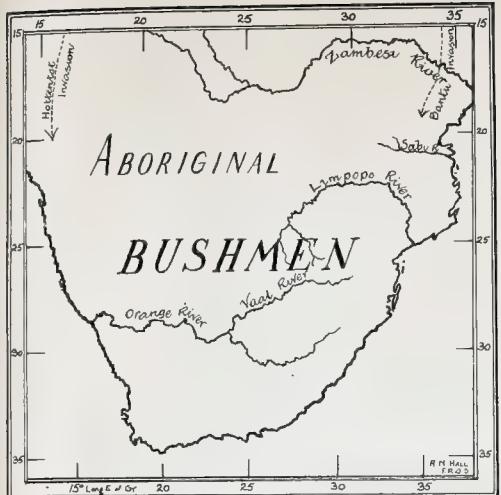
The first historic reference made by the Portuguese writers of 1505 includes a country comprised in the "empire of the *monomotapas*" which was called Butwa, Abutwa, and Abutua ("little men," or Bushmen), a name which the same area still bears on all modern maps of Southern Rhodesia. Evidently, the exodus of the Bushmen from



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PRE-HISTORIC SOUTH AFRICA.



TERRITORY OCCUPIED BY DIFFERENT RACES IN SOUTH AFRICA IN 1500,
AS ACCURATELY AS CAN BE ASCERTAINED.



PRE-HISTORIC AND EARLIEST HISTORIC SOUTH AFRICA.
A.D. 900.



STONE BUILDINGS' AREA.
SOUTHERLY LINES OF LATER AND DECADENT INFLUENCES.

ARRIVAL OF MA-KARANGA

(2) That in 1560 it is recorded that generations of *monomotapas* had been buried in the Beza Ruins (after

Abutua was at that time relatively recent, the name surviving notwithstanding the fact that the Ma-Karanga had displaced the aborigine occupiers. Judging by the numerous rock-paintings in these regions—such as in N'Danga, in which both Bushmen and Bantu are at one period shown to have been contemporary, and by the fact that the Ma-Karanga are well acquainted with the Wak-Wak, or Bushmen, and unhesitatingly attribute the paintings to them, it is quite probable that for long after the arrival of the Ma-Karanga the Bushmen continued to occupy the mountainous regions within Mo-Karanga, and were also for a considerable time subsequently the neighbours of the Ma-Karanga to the west and south-west. This balance of probability is strengthened by the name given by all Ma-Karanga to the paintings found in their midst—*Madzim'zangara*, which implies they were the work of a race who, in their nomadic habits, were as elusive as the “Will o' the Wisp,” “the people of a mirage,” or gypsies.

Period of the Arrival of the Ma-Karanga.

But on inquiry as to the relative date of the Ma-Karanga on their present area, other evidences are available in support of the opinion that the Ma-Karanga have occupied for the best part of 1000 years. In 1505 we have ample historic evidences that the “empire of the *monomotapas*” had already become dismembered and had shrunk into far less than half its former dimensions. This dismemberment was, in 1505, spoken of as having occurred in the times of “an ancient prince,” and in 1560 we read that it had occurred in remote traditional times, that since the disruption the several states had had a long succession of independent kings. We are justified, therefore, in placing this dismemberment at not less than 200 years prior to 1505, *i. e.* about 1300. But “the empire of the *monomotapas*” was in these traditional pre-dismemberment times, the most extensive, powerful, and long-continued of any known Bantu kingdom, outrivalling in these respects the many-centuried rule of the Cazembe kings. But powerful African kingdoms are not born in a night. We must allow considerable time for the settlement, growth, extension, and building up of the Ma-Karanga nation, recollecting that it never possessed warlike tendencies. Time must be allowed for the absorption of vassal kingdoms not of Ma-Karanga affinity, and whose language in the process of time became assimilated in a large measure with that of the Ma-Karanga. These processes must have required 200 years at least prior to 1300 for their working out, especially among the notoriously conservative-minded Ma-Karanga. Thus, on a reasonable estimate, we may safely place the arrival of the Ma-Karanga at some time about the tenth century, or 100 to 200 years subsequently to the descent of the first “black” type Bantu to the south of the Zambesi, as estimated by Dr. Theal and other authorities.

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the abandonment of the buildings by their original occupiers), which "serve them for a cemetery" (III, 356).

Philological Evidences as to Date.

But there are far more important evidences existing in support of the above opinion as to the early arrival of the Ma-Karanga on their present area. Four hundred years ago we find that the topographical nomenclature of both the shrunken empire of the *monomotapas*, and also of the territories which then had been disrupted in some traditional times, were pure Chicaranga, and remain the same to-day, and that such nomenclature does not include any root-words or derivations of any other Bantu language save that of Chicaranga. This, so South African philologists consider, speaks volumes, for there is no other such instance of freedom from taint known south of the Zambesi. Main Bantu tribes elsewhere, which have occupied their respective areas for a few centuries, have the bulk of their place names of some other language or dialect bestowed by much earlier Bantu or Hottentot occupiers. It is by the study of the topographical nomenclature that philologists base their conclusions concerning the various migrations, and their relative periods, in pre-historic times in any part of South Africa. In this respect, and to these findings, the ethnologist, working on totally different evidences, places his seal of authority. The topographical nomenclature of Southern Rhodesia presents no taint of foreign derivation except such as are relatively recent and were resultant of influences caused by contact with *ama-* prefix tribes, which are described in late historic times—1505–1760, and in still more recent Tebeleised rendering of the old Chicaranga place-names directly imported by the Ma-Tebele in 1836.

Thus, we have some ground to work upon, in fact, what is admitted to be a valuable basis of actuality, vouched for by anthropologist, ethnologist, and philologist, all working along different avenues of research, and supported by the earliest historic reference, in claiming (1) that the first Bantu migrated south of the Zambesi about 700 or 800 A.D.; (2) that the Ma-Karanga came on to their present area not later than about 1000 years ago; (3) that they were the first Bantu people to occupy these regions, and (4) that the aborigine Bushmen were their immediate predecessors in occupation, and for some time subsequently remained as "gypsies" in the inaccessible mountainous parts of the country.

An Unsolved Problem.

But while the above conclusions may be accepted with a great measure of confidence, there is another problem involved in the arrival of the Ma-Karanga upon this area. The anthropologist, ethnologist, and philologist further agree that certain Asiatic influences—Arabian, Persian, and Indian—have undoubtedly been exerted on the Ma-Karanga which no historic record can explain, and dating from

WHERE INDIANS THE LABOURERS

(3) That of some hundred place-names mentioned in the earliest records the bulk are of purest Chicaranga, and very many of these remain identically the same names for rivers, mountains, districts (some of the latter still surviving in the same localities to-day) as are shown on modern maps, and are in use by the present Ma-Karanga (see p. 412). Such topographical nomenclature, covering a vast area of country and enduring for at least five hundred years, bespeaks a very long occupation of Ma-Karanga, extending back to some indefinite time long prior to 1505.

If, therefore, the Ma-Karanga, being such a pre-eminently conservative people, and having occupied the same territory for the best part of a thousand years, were the miners and hand-crushers of over 100,000,000 tons of rock from depth, in the comparatively modern time claimed by Professor Maciver, and which the records emphatically contradict (see Chapter II), then we may be safely assured that the Ma-Karanga ought to present obvious and indelible impressions derived from such alleged operations, and what applies to the Ma-Karanga would apply, so Bantu authorities contend, with still greater force to any ordinary Bantu people. But these impressions, most patently, do not exist. Yet according to Professor Maciver's dates, were he able to substantiate them, the Ma-Karanga, and no other people, must have been responsible for the rock-mining operations.

some period long prior to the arrival of the Magadoxo Arabs at Sofala in the eleventh century. The questions involved are: What remnants of Arab, Persian, and Indian stock did the Ma-Karanga upon their arrival come in contact with? Had Indians been employed in working the oldest of the rock mines, just as they were employed elsewhere in Africa and in parts of Western Asia? Was the Zimbabwe-culture, displayed for centuries in rock-mining, dressed-stone building, and ceremonial, the outcome of Asiatic influences exerted in these regions in remote times? Did the arrival of the Bantu hordes put a stop to the rock-mining operations, and cause the Zimbabwe-culture to degenerate until it approached kafirisation? The balance of probability points to affirmative replies being given to such questions.

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Rock Mines and Ruins.

But it may be asked: If these rock mines are of so ancient a period, are not the ruins consequently of similar age? This by no means follows. The foreign demand for gold from pre-historic Rhodesia came from the east coast. The vast amount of gold extracted was never employed for local purposes. The country was, as mining experts have shown, mined stage by stage, area by area, until the operations extended inland 600 (965 K.) or 700 (1126 K.) miles from the east coast. It is most improbable that Great Zimbabwe at 250 miles (402·37 K.) from the coast, and Fura at 300 miles (482·79 K.), and Beza at over 400 miles (643·72 K.) from the coast, were erected until very long after the rock-mining operations had been in full swing in these inland territories.

The originating cause of the rock-mining activities was undoubtedly the demand for gold, and the influence from outside, whether direct or indirect, which finally resulted in the adoption of stone building, was in all probability not felt in the interior until long after the mining and trading in gold with the coast had been firmly established as a permanently payable industry. The foreign influence was first manifested in mining. Gold was the primary consideration, stone building being merely secondary and consequential, and therefore of later date.

Personally, I have always agreed with those authorities who, having long been acquainted with both ruins and mines, have always claimed that the age of the Zimbabwe Temple, old as it undoubtedly is, does not determine the date of the commencement of these ancient gold-mining activities, that many of the rock mines are far more ancient than Zimbabwe, but that the Zimbabwe Temple represents a resultant phase of intrusions of influence, not necessarily of dominance, into these territories of both Arabs of South Arabia and of people from Persia and Western India in ancient times.

On the one hand I cannot, after working at Zimbabwe for three years, accept the age assigned to the Elliptical Temple by Mr. Theodore Bent, viz. 1100 B.C., and, on the

ROCK MINES AND RUINS

other, I most firmly believe, as shown later, that the evidences, as far as they have been secured, are overwhelmingly opposed to the acceptance of the comparative modernity assigned to it by Professor Maciver, though his estimate undoubtedly applies, as has long been contended, to certain of the poorer buildings of obviously late squatters at Zimbabwe.

Further, it must be borne in mind that not a single one of the hundreds of ruins in our country has been examined (see *Ruins Unexplored*, Chapter XIII), that not nearly a tenth part of Zimbabwe itself has yet been explored, while there are several ruins larger, but not so intact as Zimbabwe, some believed to be even older than Zimbabwe. If, therefore, a very small portion of Zimbabwe only has yielded relics—stone birds, phalli, “cup and ring” linga, carved stone beams, immense soapstone bowls, and a wealth of most chaste gold ornaments, as to the origin of which antiquarians are by no means agreed, what may be anticipated when more of the ruins are examined? To dogmatise on our present partial evidences is imprudent, and suggests a lack of scientific balance, and a mere game of “Archæological Bridge.”

Moreover, no final solution of either mines or ruins problem can be accepted until explanation is forthcoming as to (1) the Semitic features, superior intelligence, larger brain, and their small hands and feet, small pelvis bones and narrow hips, most polished speech, peculiar construction of language, and great difference in vocabulary of the Ma-Karanga, and their more than two-score customs of distinctly Semitic origin, all of which differentiate them from the ordinary Bantu, and are strongly indicative of a foreign influence, their customs being suggestive of a decidedly pre-Koranic origin, and (2) the form of ceremonial once practised at Zimbabwe, which all Bantu students affirm is unknown among any past or present Bantu people.

Professor Maciver's Impossible Theory.

The Arab, Persian, and Portuguese records, as also the local evidences, clearly show that the Magadexo Arabs and

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Persians of 1000-1505 had no settlements inland, it being most definitely stated they were restricted to the coast, some of the expressions used being, "the gold which the natives bring to Sofala," also "the gold which the Moors obtain from the natives," and several other expressions all to the same effect. Therefore it cannot be conceived that Arabs and Persians of 1000-1505 originated or suggested to or still less taught the inland natives any rock-mining operations. But we are told by Professor Maciver "there is no justification" for supposing any intrusion of influence brought about by trading, earlier than that of the Magadexo Arabs in the eleventh century. Yet we are seriously invited to believe that as late as the eleventh century a branch of the great Bantu people—a race most notorious as possessing extraordinary conservative characteristics, and who had never been known to mine rock or dress granite for building in the territories from which they had arrived—had suddenly conceived at the back of its Bantu mind and ultimately developed a high degree of skill both in rock-mining and building construction, and carried on operations on so extensive a scale, had within that period, 400 years, as suddenly become so ignorant that they possessed no trace or impression caused by such operations, and had no shred of tradition of ever having carried them on, they placing everything to the credit of the "Devil," "for in comparison with their power and knowledge it did not seem possible to them that they should be the work of man." Nor had the natives of some indefinite time long prior to 1560 any tradition concerning the people who had been occupying the Temple for centuries.

Thus, according to Professor Maciver, *within four hundred years* are crowded, first the conception in the Bantu mind, and then the development to a high state of perfection, its display in operations on a scale so gigantic as to be almost inconceivable, its gradual deterioration, and finally its utter oblivion. Such an hypothesis amounts to a *reductio ad absurdum*.

Mr. W. Hammond Tooke, in his work, *The Bantu of the Tenth Century*, states, "Nor can we accept it [Professor

AN IMPOSSIBLE THEORY

Maciver's theory] more readily when we remember the Chronicle of Kilwa, with its record extending over the period we are considering, written up probably by Mahomedan scribes residing at Kilwa, not many days' sail from Sofala, with which we may assume there was a frequent intercourse, is absolutely silent as to rock-mining or stone building in Rhodesia."

"It is scarcely credible," he continues, "that, within a period equivalent to that between the building of the Town House, Capetown, and our own day, these remarkable structures [rock mines at depth] should have been built [sunk], inhabited [mined], utilised [exhausted of gold reef], deserted [completely buried in natural siltation], left to ruin [no surface traces existing], and all knowledge of them so completely forgotten as to be replaced by superstitious legends."

This, as is shown, is an impossible theory, but it serves to remind us that so intricate a question as this which Rhodesia presents cannot be solved by a hasty and superficial examination—even though conducted on the most scientific principles.

But Professor Maciver frankly admits that during his brief visit to the country he was unable to examine any of the rock mines, and that his sole purpose was to approach the Rhodesian problem from the standpoint of an archæologist. The problem of an ancient intrusion into this country will never be satisfactorily settled on the lines of archæology alone—and serious exception is taken on archæological grounds to the great majority of his conclusions—and will not be until the ethnological, philological, anthropological, and archæological researches have been completed, and even then not until the happy medium of all these studies can be struck. Rock-mining and stone building must be considered together. Unfortunately he has departed from his archæological standpoint by emphatically limiting the gold export trade of this country to between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries, and has repudiated all possibilities of there ever having been an ancient intrusion of foreign influence into South-east Africa.

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But in the opinion of the most able experts of England, France, and Germany, as recently expressed in various terms, "Professor Maciver has by no means finally closed the door against the discussion of any ancient intrusion into Rhodesia." This door is likely to remain open for many a long year to come.

The Zimbabwe Pattern Ingot Mould not used, 915-1760 A.D.

At the Royal Geographical Society's debate (March 1906) a letter was read from Professor J. W. Gregory, F.R.S., of the Geological Department of Glasgow University, who had visited Rhodesia with the British Association (1905), and had reported the rock mines to be ancient. In it he referred to the *astragali* soapstone ingot moulds found at Zimbabwe, which resemble so very closely the form of ingot mould used by the Phoenicians in Cornwall. In reply Professor Maciver said, "Professor Gregory refers to the ingot. Well, that is a very small point. If Professor Gregory knew his Portuguese authors, he would find there is a reference to natives making ingots in the form of a cross" (*R. G. S. Journal*, April 1906, p. 345).

There is only one single reference in the whole of the nine volumes of the Portuguese records to ingots other than straight bars (see later), and this relates to the copper ingots of the natives in 1667. It is found on p. 505 of Vol. III: "Among the Kafirs it [copper] is used as money, which they call *massontas*, which are two St. Andrew crosses joined together by a bar in the middle" (que saõ duas aspas juntos por huã Traueça entre meya). This description Professor Maciver did not read to the meeting, or it would have been at once noticed that his reply to Professor Gregory was wholly and astonishingly insufficient, for the *astragali* found at Zimbabwe are altogether differently shaped moulds to the ingots described in the records.

No single specimen of ingot or ingot mould of the pattern ("two St. Andrew crosses joined together by a bar in the middle") described in the records has ever yet been found in Rhodesia or in any neighbouring territory.

ASTRAGALI INGOT MOULD

On the other hand, the *astragali* were discovered at the east end of the Zimbabwe Temple, on its original floor, far below all clay floors of late Kafir squatters, and associated with a wealth of gold articles, including gold sun-images, such as is never found in later ruins, and with relics such as phalli, cylinders, small carved birds on beams, and the best carved specimens of massive soapstone bowls—all of which relics are admitted as belonging to some period very long prior to 1667.

A further reference to "copper bars," *maçontas*, is in Vol. I, p. 270. These are not crosses, especially as the description of them states "two fingers wide," this naturally meaning that this was their width throughout their length. Probably these resemble the old native copper bars, which are perfectly straight and square-edged, which have been plentifully discovered in undoubtedly Ma-Karanga débris, and specimens of which are in the Rhodesian museums. Again, on the same page, "There is also current a coin made of pewter, which they call calaim : it is made in bars." Also (III, 207), "Pewter they use in bartering, like square money, with a point in the form of a diamond," but these can hardly be called ingots.

In 1891 my co-author, the late Mr. W. G. Neal, discovered a single St. Andrew cross-shaped copper ingot in a grave within a ruin; but graves in ruins are of far later date than the ruins themselves, for burials would not take place in ruins until after they had long been abandoned as dwelling-places. Nor would subsequent native squatters convert the ruins into cemeteries, as they have very often done, until *they* had ceased to occupy them. For instance, at Zimbabwe I found at least a score of graves within some of the oldest ruins, and these graves were not fifty years old. Until five or six years ago the Acropolis Ruins, particularly the passages, have been converted into a cemetery for the Zimbabwe Ma-Karanga. But the articles found in such graves have nothing to do with the original occupiers of the ruins, who arranged excellent drainage for their floors. Similar ingots have also been discovered in the graves of much later squatters in the ruins, but these do

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not relate to the time of the original builders, but to a very much later time. They are to be found associated with iron gongs—a top-floor find at Zimbabwe and the old ruins, and a bottom-floor find in stone-fenced Ma-Karanga kraals.

In Katanga, hundreds of miles distant from the ancient mines and ruins' area, these shaped ingots were found being made by natives ten years ago, although Dr. Livingstone (1865) states that the copper ingots of Katanga were made in the form of a capital I, each being 60 or 70 pounds' weight (Letter, September 1869). But allowance must be made for the fact, made clear by the records, and also by Lacerdo, and by every modern traveller, that the influence of the settlements of the slave-dealing Arabs, all cross-breed, which extend from coast to coast, is responsible for certain arts among the tribes they live among, which arts are not of Bantu origin; for instance, the shape of the large-bladed, scimitar-shaped knives with ivory handles and arabesque designs engraved, which are to be found north of the Zambesi,¹ as also the patterns carved in ivory, and a particular form of metal-working which is certainly not of Bantu character. Further, it must be borne in mind that the natives of the Katanga country have been for a very long period in direct contact by trade with Arabs' settlements inland, and also with Arabs of Zanzibar, Mozambique, and coast ports north of Zambesi, and also with the Congo country and the western coast.

Possibly these cross-shaped ingots of later times are but in general form a survival of the old pattern of mould found at Zimbabwe, and used by the people who sank the ancient gold mines to depth in the rock of Rhodesia. This pattern is undeniably the oldest pattern mould ever discovered in the country.

¹ The records state that such scimitar-shaped knives (of which not one has been found in any of the ruins) were introduced by the Moors (prior to 1505) as trading goods. The author, who has visited most of the East Africa ports, has seen identical articles in all the shops of the Moors. He is informed that they were the most effective goods for the purchase of slaves. See also, works of Livingstone, Chapman, Burton, also *Influence of Arab Traders in West-Central Africa*, H. Wissman, *R. G. S. Journal*, vol. 10, 1888-1892.

EXPERT REPORTS ON MINES

Ferão, Captain of Sena, states the moulds for copper were made "any shape they wished by making holes in the earth" (VII, 380). This is a common native practice of to-day.

Of one thing, however, we may be absolutely assured, that the Zimbabwe *astragali* moulds were never used by natives, Arabs, Persians, or Portuguese during the time of the records, for all the old forms of relics with which their discovery was associated are never once mentioned, and their existence was unknown to Arabs, Persians of historic times, and Portuguese. Dr. Theal informs me that this may be taken as final. The problem as to the arrival of the *astragali* patterned moulds at the Elliptical Temple still remains unsolved (see Chapter II, *Export of Gold Dust and Bar Gold*, 1505–1760).

Professor Gregory states, "Looking at the date of the pre-historic mining in Rhodesia from a mining point of view, it is certain some of the mines are modern [these are the Portuguese workings], but that others may be of considerable antiquity. It is clear, from their size and extent, that a large amount of gold has been derived from them, and by mining methods unlike those adopted, to my knowledge, by any uninstructed negro people. That the original mining instructors were either Phoenicians, or people under Phoenician influence, is supported by the shape of their ingots. They were *astragali*, to use the term by which Diodorus described the tin ingots obtained by the Phoenicians from Cornwall. The shape of Cornish *astragali* is known from the specimen dredged at the entrance to Falmouth and described by Sir Henry James.

"It seems to me [Professor Gregory] improbable that negroes in East Africa should have stumbled by chance on the same pattern of ingot as those which the Phoenicians used in Cornwall; so that, whoever actually built Zimbabwe, it seems probable that there are traces of Phoenician influence on the early mining industry of Rhodesia."

Expert Reports on Ancient Rock Mines.

In addition to the reports given as to the ancient character of the rock mines by Mr. John Hays Hammond and Mr.

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E. H. Garthwaite, the consulting mining engineers of the British South Africa Company, the following consulting mining engineers, mining engineers, and managers of mines, have also from time to time reported on the ancient character of the oldest type of rock mines—

Messrs. J. Anderson, T. Bayne, E. Bennington, B. H. Blaine, G. H. Borrowe, Wallace Broad, A. Brown, J. A. Chalmers, A. L. Chambers, W. Crossley, Walter Currie, Tel-ford Edwards, R. G. Elves, J. R. Farrell, Gordon S. D. Forbes, George Grey, Colonel R. Grey, Messrs. H. D. Griffiths, J. N. Griffiths, T. R. Harvey, Major M. Heaney, Colonel Heyman, Messrs. E. E. Homan, W. Howard, D. B. Huntley, A. E. Ingram, J. S. Jenkin, Frank Johnson, H. G. Jones, A. Little, H. Macandrew, A. Mackinnon, J. G. McDonald, J. S. Park, C. E. Parson, Geo. Pauling, H. Pearson, H. A. Piper, H. Power, H. A. Pringle, F. A. Purdon, A. Reid, C. T. Roberts, C. J. Robinson, Ross, Sheffield & Co., J. W. Salthouse, Dr. Hans Sauer, Messrs. W. Teague, L. E. Tylor, E. Clement Wallace, W. T. E. Wallace, H. H. Webb, Lewis Webb, Franklin White, R. Williams, J. A. Woodburn, P. B. S. Wrey, and very many others.

The opinions of mining experts, and their references to the ancient rock mines, are to be found—

(1) In the reports of mining engineers filed with the prospectuses and memoranda of association on the registration of the various mining companies of Rhodesia, several of which also give plans and sections of ancient workings, and also a quantity of interesting information regarding them.¹

(2) In the official reports issued annually to the share-

¹ Mr. Rhodes, some eight years ago, had a large collection of these plans and sections made, and he submitted them to leading mining experts in Europe, who reported that some of the larger mines were undoubtedly ancient, and were not the work of any Bantu people, and that the methods employed were identical to those to be found in ancient mines in Arabia and India. The late Sir C. Le Neve Foster also reported thereon, and stated that he was quite convinced that ancient Asiatic miners had directed mining operations in Southern Rhodesia, and that the quality of the mining had tailed off in the course of time till kafirisation was ultimately reached.

ASIATICS AND THE ROCK MINES

holders of the various companies. The earliest reports give the best information. The mines having been located on ancient workings, and the ancient stopes having been sunk through, the later reports consequently are not much concerned with the ancient workings on the higher levels.

(3) In the particulars and plans filed at the Mines Department on registration of claims, and in reports and diagrams filed on entering Footage for Inspection purposes.

(4) In three volumes of *Mining in Rhodesia* for 1899, 1900, and 1902, issued by the British South Africa Company.

(5) In the files of Rhodesian papers of 1896–1902, which contain several series of reports furnished by mining engineers as to the character of the ancient workings on their respective properties.

Rock Mines. Conclusions.

It must not be forgotten that the mining engineers who have reported on these rock mines have long resided in the country, and being highly-qualified experts are also perfectly conversant with the old native methods of nibbling at outcrops of iron and copper ores. Yet they draw a very wide distinction between the methods of the ancients and those of old native people. Their unanimity in these conclusions is not at all surprising, for no one could possibly mistake the character of the two classes of mining, or fail to notice the patently skilful work of the old gold-seekers.

From the earliest pioneer days of Rhodesia down to the present time there has always been a consensus of opinion on the part of experienced mining authorities that the oldest of the rock mines showed the highest form of skill in mining ; that the culture in rock-mining was directly introduced by Asiatics into the country in its already perfected form ; that after some centuries of display over a vast area, and to an extent that is almost beyond human conception, the culture decadetd very markedly until it was represented in the tenth to the seventeenth centuries only in the river sand washing operations as described in the early

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Portuguese records ; "that there was no "natural evolution of mining" on the part of the unaided Bantu ; and that the oldest rock mines were not the work of any present-known Bantu people.

The only conclusion possible is that the oldest rock mines date from some pre-historic times, that is, from before 915 A.D., at which time the main rock-mining operations appear to have ceased. This conclusion is warranted mainly by the condition of the rock mines themselves, also by the silence of the Chronicles of Kilwa, and of the Arab and Persian writers of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries as to mining in rock, by the descriptions of the Bantu given by those writers, by the positive statements in the Portuguese records of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to the effect that the gold was obtained by washing river sand and not by working deep rock mines, and finally by the conclusions of the recognised ethnological authorities on the Bantu that no known Bantu were responsible for the older type of rock mines.

NOTE.—Since this chapter was written, Mr. H. A. Piper, the Consulting Engineer of the Goldfields of South Africa Consolidated, Ltd., has reported that an examination of the pre-historic workings on the Globe and Phœnix property proves that gold to the value of fully one million pounds sterling has been extracted by the pre-historic miners.

CHAPTER IV

THE Portuguese records most explicitly show that—

(1) THE “ZIMBAOES” (RESIDENCES) WERE NOT ZIMBABGI (BUILDINGS OF STONE),

(2) THE MA-KARANGA DID NOT OCCUPY ANY STONE BUILDINGS, 1505-1760, OR WITHIN ANY TRADITIONARY TIMES,

(3) ZIMBABWE WAS NOT IN THE KINGDOM OF THE MONOMOTAPA, AND WAS THEREFORE NOT THE “MONOMOTAPAN CAPITAL,”

(4) THE MONOMOTAPAN CAPITAL, AND ALSO THE CENTRE OF THE GOLD TRADE OF THE MA-KARANGA (1505-1760, AND EVEN IN TRADITIONARY TIMES), WAS AT MASAPA IN THE MAZOE DISTRICT, OVER 300 MILES (482·79 K.) FROM ZIMBABWE,

(5) THE “VERY ANCIENT” RUINS OF ZIMBABWE WERE IN THE DISTRICT OF TORO (= ANCIENT) IN THE KINGDOM OF SABIA, WHERE WERE “THE MOST ANCIENT MINES KNOWN IN THE COUNTRY” (DE BARROS), WHICH KINGDOM OF SABIA THE RECORDS DECLARE WAS NEVER VISITED BY THE PORTUGUESE, WHO NEVER SAW ZIMBABWE, AND FROM WHICH KINGDOM THE MA-KARANGA, IT IS STATED, TRADED NO GOLD WHATEVER.

Yet, relying implicitly on statements made by Professor Maciver, we find that Dr. A. C. Haddon and Professor J. L. Myres, who had not the records before them, were unfortunately led, on reviewing Professor Maciver's *Mediæval Rhodesia*, to make the following statements—

(1) “*The monomotapan capital near Victoria [i.e. Zim-*

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babwe]" (Dr. A. C. Haddon, *Daily News*, March 26, 1906).

(2) "*The Portuguese records tell their own story of gold-working Kafirs living in walled towns*" (Professor J. L. Myres, *R. G. S. Journal*, July 1906, p. 68).

As will be shown later, not only are these two statements wholly unjustifiable, but clear historic record declares the diametrically opposite to have been the case.

Evidently both reviewers, as did other reviewers, took for granted that Professor Maciver had thoroughly digested the Portuguese records, and South African students of these documents do not for one moment blame these two writers.

The statement upon which Dr. Haddon and Professor Myres relied is as follows—

"They [the Portuguese writers] state explicitly that the houses of a monomotapa in 1506 were of 'stone and clay' (Alcaçova), and that buildings described as similar to the Elliptical Temple at Zimbabwe were actually being inhabited by the 'captains' of the 'King of Benomotapa [Monomotapa]' in the sixteenth century (De Goes)" (*R. G. S. Journal*, April 1906, p. 335).

We shall now proceed to demonstrate from definite historic statement that the above quotation is an obviously most incorrect representation of the actual facts. In so doing it must not be imagined by the reader that any suggestion is made that Professor Maciver wilfully distorted the facts as stated in the records. The explanation is simple enough. Professor Maciver was unacquainted with Chicaranga (the language of the Ma-Karanga of 1505 and of to-day), and therefore was unable to discuss the Chicaranga nomenclature of the topographical features mentioned in the records, and consequently he has erred in most cardinal and essential points. Further, he had no knowledge of the topography of this vast area. This knowledge is not possible of acquirement within the compass of what is admitted by all to have been a brief visit to the country. Moreover, Professor Maciver in some points has done exceedingly well notwithstanding his great

ANOTHER ALCAÇOVA ‘FABLE’

disadvantages in possessing no first-hand knowledge of either rock mines or Bantu.

But his chief disadvantage was one he created for himself. Before even seeing Zimbabwe he had already startled South Africans by announcing a “solution.” He then had not received his copies of the Portuguese records, so when on setting out for Zimbabwe he breathed forth threatenings against Bent and Keane, and also against the writer, he was altogether in the dark as to what Zimbabwe and the records had yet to reveal to him as to the origin and age of the Rhodesian remains. But being deeply committed to a special theory he was compelled to substantiate it. His references to the Portuguese writings therefore partake of the character of those of one who perused them with a mind already made up as to what they *ought* to contain. In fact, Professor Maciver, discovering the records to be altogether inconsistent with his preconceived theory, found himself confronted by a thicket of “Wait-a-Bit!” thorns. He has done his best, and most heroically, to struggle through the *Harpagophytum procumbens*, but with what measure of success it is for the reader to determine.

Houses of “Stone and Clay.”

Alcaçova is the only one out of many writers who makes the statement that the houses of the natives were of “stone and clay” (I, 65). He was in the factor’s office at Sofala, and was there (1506) for barely twelve months, and never went inland. He was, as Dr. Theal has shown, an un-educated person, of most astonishing credulity, whose statements are contradicted by his contemporaries.¹ At the time he wrote not a single Portuguese had gone inland from the coast, and any information concerning the people of the interior then obtained from “the low-class Moors” of Sofala must have been altogether unreliable. Professor Maciver himself states² that information from these Moors was “derived second hand from the same untrustworthy source, viz. the reports of the Arab [? Persian Moors] intermediaries who traded to Sofala.”

¹ *The Alcaçova “Fable.”*

² *Medieval Rhodesia*, p. 60.

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In the first instance, Professor Maciver, as is apparent from the context, and as shown later, has no justification whatever for connecting the "stone and clay" houses mentioned by Alcaçova with any of the ruins. Alcaçova speaks of houses or huts, and not of colossal buildings covering acres of ground, and most certainly not of such buildings as the Elliptical Temple.

Alcaçova's statement is to the effect that a *monomotapa*, King of Mocaranga, whose personal name was Mokombo, had a favourite who was sub-King of Vealanga [Tshikanga, or Manica, these being exchangeable names] called Tshikanga, of whom he became jealous. Tshikanga visited the *monomotapa* and killed him at the *monomotapa*'s chief kraal, "at a place called Zunhauhy, which is large, in which the king [Mokombo] always resides, . . . the houses of the king, which were of stone and clay, very large and of one storey." Zunhauhy was distant from Sofala "ten or twelve days if you travel as in Portugal; but because they do not travel except from morning to mid-day . . . they cannot go in less than twenty or twenty-four days."

This is evidently not Zimbabwe, but Mokombo's "city," which was in Mocaranga. Mokombo was the *monomotapa*, and is described as "Mokombo Menamotapam," the boundaries of Mocaranga being clearly defined in the records, while the district of Toro (=ancient), which contained Zimbabwe, according to the records was in the kingdom of Sabiaor Sedanda, the boundaries of which are also clearly defined, and which was "traversed by the great river Saba" (VII, 273).

But Tshikanga or Manica or Vealanga is very far distant from Zimbabwe, and one would have to travel 200 or 300 miles (321·86 K. or 482·79 K.) altogether out of the way to get from Sofala *via* Zimbabwe to either of the two *zimbaoes* of the *monomotapas* mentioned in the records, *i.e.* the *zimbae* at Masapa near Fura (Refure), and the *zimbae* in the Beza-Chidima district. Manica was east of Mocaranga, therefore the "city" of the *monomotapa* was west of Manica, and in no other position. It could not have been to the south of Manica, as the kingdom of

ZUNHAUHY NOT ZIMBABWE

Biri (which is shown in the records as not being in the *monomotapa's* "empire") lay to the south of Manica and to the north of the present Zimbabwe. The distances given might apply to the Masapa *zimbaoe* in Manzovo (present Mazoe) or to any place in Mocaranga east of the Manzovo (Mazoe) river, round which district all the traditions, history, and associations of successions of all the *monomotapas*, from long before 1505 to 1760, hover, while it is held locally that the topographical conditions debar all connection of Zimbabwe with Zunhauhy, the approach from Sofala to Zimbabwe, except by the Sabi Valley, being barred by the mountainous escarpment of the central plateau. Moreover, the "river of Sofala" (Buzi and its tributary the Revue) was, according to the records, the ordinary route from Sofala to Manica and Mocaranga, and this did not approach within 150 miles (241·39 K.) of Zimbabwe, and its course lay in an altogether different direction.¹ If Zunhauhy had been identical with Zimbabwe, which it is not, then the two locations of what is rightly considered to be Zimbabwe given by De Goes and De Barros would be both decidedly incorrect. Further, the Chicaranga derivations of Zimbabwe and Zunhauhy [Sinoia] are totally different. But Professor Maciver's "identification" of Zunhauhy with Zimbabwe is dealt with later in this chapter.

Alcaçova Relates Tradition.

But another circumstance is also fatal to the acceptance of the statements made by Professor Maciver, and this lies in the fact that Alcaçova was not relating any current event. He but refers to a tradition identical with the tradition, related in various forms by several Portuguese writers, as to the origin of the disruption of the Mocaranga empire, when the vassal kingdoms of the Quiteve, of the Tshikanga or Manica, of the Sedanda or Sabia, became independent of the rule of the *monomotapas*, events which happened, as the records show, some generations at least before the Portuguese ever arrived at Sofala.

¹ For the various references to this route to the capital of Mocaranga at Masapa, see Chapter VII, p. 215.

PRE-HISTORIC RHODESIA

So fully are the events of this identical tradition described by other and more competent writers who, as can be seen, had travelled in the interior and knew the positions and agree as to the boundaries of each of these kingdoms, and who moreover had acquired a good knowledge of the Chicaranga language and idiom, that the decided blanks in Alcaçova's relation of it can be safely filled in, and his curious hotch-pot of Chicaranga can be corrected by reference to the other narrations of this tradition, none of which contain any reference whatever to houses of "stone and clay."

For instance, Father Dós Santos wrote, "We have already stated that [the] *monomotapa* was *anciently* a much more powerful king before the states of [the] Quiteve, [the] Tshikanga [Manica], and [the] Sedanda [Sabia] revolted from him" (VII, 285).

Again, Father Dos Santos wrote, "This kingdom of [the] *monomotapa* is situated in the lands called Mocaranga, all of which lands *formerly* belonged to the empire of [the] *monomotapa*, and at present are divided into four kingdoms, viz. the kingdom which at present belongs to [the] *monomotapa*, the kingdom of [the] Quiteve, the kingdom of [the] Sedanda, and that of [the] Tshikanga" (VII, 273).

Father Dos Santos proceeds, "This division was made by an emperor *monomotapa*, who not wishing, or not being able, to govern such distant lands, made three of his sons governors thereof, sending one named Quiteve to govern the lands extending along the river of Sofala [Buzi and Revue], another named Sedanda to govern the lands traversed by the river Saba, and the third, named Tshikanga, he sent to govern the lands of Manica.

"These three governors, his sons, as soon as their father died and another son who was at court succeeded to the empire, rose in arms with their territories, and were never again willing to obey the *monomotapa* or his successors, each one alleging that the said empire was his."

Thus it is seen that Alcaçova's statement, coming from a source which Professor Maciver declares to be "untrust-

ALCAÇOVA'S STATEMENT REFUTED

worthy," merely refers to a tradition at any rate some generations old, and his "stone and clay" houses belong to that purely traditional period described by Dos Santos as "*anciently*." When, therefore, Professor Maciver declares, "They [the Portuguese records] state explicitly that the houses of a *monomotapa* in 1506 were of 'stone and clay' (Alcaçova)," he makes an altogether incorrect statement.

But Alcaçova's statement as to houses being built of "stone and clay" is refuted by every single one of the Portuguese writers, several of whom were priests and well-educated men, who had actually lived in Mocaranga and had visited the *zimbaoes*, or residences of the *monomotapas*, and yet none of these ever went within 200 miles (321·86 K.), or at any rate 150 miles (241·30 K.), of Great Zimbabwe, and, moreover, never saw any stone buildings of any sort occupied by natives.

"Houses of Wood, Straw, and Clay."

Father Monclaros wrote, the dwellings "are of very small huts" (III, 218), "the houses of the natives are small straw huts plastered with clay" (III, 231). Father Dos Santos lived in the country for eleven years and acquired most perfect Chicaranga. He travelled very extensively in the interior, and was admittedly the most reliable of all the Portuguese writers. He states the houses were "made of rough wood and thatched with straw," "they can move these huts from place to place at their will" (VII, 209), also the *monomotapa*'s "palaces [at Massapa] are built of wood covered with clay" (VII, 275). From other writers we learn that the chief *zimbae* of the *monomotapa*, the one at Massapa, was "surrounded by a great wooden fence" (III, 356). "When the Emperor changed his residence everything was first set on fire as was necessary" (II, 418). "The natives live in mud huts thatched with straw" (III, 77). "The houses are built of wattles plastered with clay" (III, 130). "The houses are of wood" (I, 15), also "the emperor [*monomotapa*] has a great palace, though of wood." This refers to the chief *zimbae* at Massapa (I, 23). "Vasco Homen burnt the

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city." This is the chief *zimbaoe* of the Quiteve in Quisanga, near the Magomo Mountains (I, 29). The *monomotapa* burnt the towns of the Mongas (III, 247). Homen gave orders for the chief *zimbaoe* of the King of Mongasi to be burnt down, and "it was entirely consumed, as it was built of wood and straw" (VI, 377). Capote's kraal was burnt down (III, 242). "Some villages near Sena were set on fire" (III, 246). Nine villages in Ankoni's district (a ruins' area) were set on fire (III, 371). The *monomotapas* have "no fortresses or walled cities" (Bocarro, III, 358). The rebel Natuziande burnt "many houses" at the Massapa *zimbaoe* of the *monomotapa* (III, 379). The Tshikanga's chief *zimbaoe* was burnt down twice, and on the second occasion it is stated "the town of zimbaoe belonging to the King Chicanga [Tshikanga] was burnt down" (IV, 278, 279), "as it was built entirely of wood and straw" (VI, 389). Durate Barbosa wrote, "Here is a very large town called Zimboaache" (*che* evidently *kya*=hut, *i.e.* "hut residences"), "in which there are many houses of wood and straw in which the King of Benemapata frequently resides" (I, 96). The Jesuit Fathers' letters detailing the account of the murder of Father Silveira show that the Beza-Chidima *zimbaoe* of the *monomotapa* consisted of ordinary Kafir huts. There are also several other references, all being to the same effect, there being no single reference whatever throughout the nine volumes of records to huts of "stone and clay" as mentioned in the tradition as related by Alcaçova. All the *zimbaoes* in Zambesia visited by Lacerda are stated to have been of ordinary Kafir wattle and daub huts.

Further, there are the best part of a hundred other references which show by the contexts that the native dwellings could not possibly have been huts of "stone and clay," but must have been of wood and straw. For instance, a native custom is cited: when a native dies his hut is burnt down, a common practice to-day, "the ashes of the burnt house with any pieces of wood not quite consumed they put on the top of the grave" (VII, 309). A large number of the *zimbaoes* of sub-chiefs far inland

'ALL THEIR HOUSES ARE OF WOOD'

were also burnt down by the Portuguese, who, though present, make no reference to stone buildings.

We also read that when lightning struck a hut, the whole village was at once removed, also when a chief died. These are also common practices to-day.¹ Further, the Ma-Karanga on the approach of the Muzimba raiders deserted their towns, "which, in fact, are not worth much [as defences], and flee to the thickets" (I, 384). Evidently they were not living within massive stone walls. It is impossible to find anywhere in South Africa any town of over 5,000 or 10,000 people which has or ever had a girdle fence, and a great many small towns have no semblance of a fence whatever.

Father Monclaros, who went inland to Mongas, Quiteve, and Manica, writes, "*Since they [the natives] have inhabited this country . . . they have never raised a stone upon a stone to build a house or wall. Their only houses are small straw huts plastered with clay, resembling round dove-cotes*" (III, 231), while De Barros adds, "*The people being barbarians, all their houses are of wood*" (VI, 268).

Unfortunately Professor Maciver omits all these references in his publications, or Dr. Haddon and Professor J. L. Myres might not have been so greatly led astray. At any rate, the "monomotapan capital near Victoria" is almost 300 miles (482·79 K.) at least out of the position stated in the records.² These records state the Portuguese never saw Zimbabwe, which was in ruins and "very ancient" at some altogether indefinite time between the eleventh century and 1505 (VI, 268), while it is explicitly mentioned in the records that they never once penetrated into the kingdom of Sabia, "as no travellers have been there from hence" (VII, 377), and not a single place-name in Sabia is given in the records!

¹ These practices, now over five hundred years old, and possibly centuries older, could not have been employed to the structures within the Temple at Zimbabwe.

² "That the ruins, known as Zimbabwe, are those of the capital or other 'cities' of the monomotapa, is not suggested by any serious Portuguese writer. The monomotapa's 'city' seems to have been built of wood and mud."—Dr. Scott Keltie, *The Partition of Africa*, p. 51.

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But Professor Maciver when at Zimbabwe failed to see a single hut or trace of hut built of "stone and clay." He saw the bases only of wattle and daub huts. No such hut has ever been found at Zimbabwe. He cannot urge that such have been destroyed or removed, for more than nine-tenths of Zimbabwe still remains virgin for the explorer, and there are the remains of scores of exceedingly old huts still to be seen, but not one answering to Alcaçova's description. Even Professor Maciver's own published descriptions of the huts and remains of huts he met with at Zimbabwe can very effectively be cited against him, as will be seen later, and also on reference to his book. Moreover, I and others followed Professor Maciver to Zimbabwe, and I examined all his trenches, the positions and measurements of which I entered on my own "working plan" (these are dealt with in Chapters XI and XIII), and I am perfectly certain he has not seen such huts at Zimbabwe.

A Topographical Error.

Relying solely on what he himself has described as "second-hand" information derived from an "untrustworthy source," Professor Maciver adds, "I am inclined to identify 'Zumubany' [Alcaçova wrote 'Zunhauhy'] of Alcaçova, and the 'city of Benomotapa' with the ruins [Zimbabwe] now existing near Victoria!"¹ Further, "From Sofala westwards to the capital of the monomotapa [in Mocaranga, not Sabia] was a journey of some three weeks for Durate Barbosa [who makes no reference whatever to any stone buildings and who never went to Zimbabwe, and who distinctly referred to the *zimbaoe* in Mocaranga at Masapa] and his contemporaries of the sixteenth century [none of whom ever went near Zimbabwe]. The modern traveller may reach the Great Zimbabwe, *which is generally identified with the place referred to*, in a considerably shorter time."² The state-

¹ *Mediæval Rhodesia*, p. 60. But see "Zimbaoes" are not "Zimbabgi," later in this chapter.

² The *Records of South-eastern Rhodesia* have for some years been closely studied in Rhodesia. Even before their publication in 1898 Mr. Rhodes furnished typewritten copies to those who were acquainted

LOCATION OF THE ZIMBAOES

ment in italics is totally and surprisingly incorrect, and is diametrically opposed to the general acceptation of all South African writers and Rhodesian settlers who for years have closely studied and discussed the records in the light of a practical knowledge of the topographical features of our country, and also with a knowledge of Chicaranga, with which language alone the records deal. Such an assertion is overwhelmingly refuted by the records, and on topographical grounds is absolutely impossible. Earlier we have seen that for other reasons the identification of Alcaçova's traditional "Zunhauhy" with Zimbabwe by Professor Maciver is altogether untenable.¹

The Location of the Zimbaoes.

But Professor Maciver makes confusion worse confounded by adding, "His [the *monomotapa's*] residence (his 'Zimbabwe') was then near the Zambesi." Three hundred and fifty miles (563·26 K.) from Great Zimbabwe! This *zimbaoe*, not "Zimbabwe," is the Beza-Chidima (modern Shidima) *zimbaoe* which was north of the Masapa *zimbaoe*, Professor Maciver confusing the two *zimbaoes* and treating them as identical.² But there is not the

with the topography of the country, and many localities mentioned have been satisfactorily identified. Since their publication they have been closely studied by Chicaranga scholars and students of the Bantu, and also by mining prospectors in attempts to locate gold, silver, copper, and iron areas.

¹ Had "Durate Barbosa and his contemporaries" visited Zimbabwe, to which suggestion all the evidences in the records are opposed, it would seem strange that on April 17, 1721, the Governor of Goa should write to the King of Portugal, "There is a report that in the interior of these countries many affirm that there is a tower or edifice of worked masonry which appears evidently not to be the work of black natives of this country." He urges that an inquiry should be made. Hence it will be seen, as shown also in the records, that even in 1721 it was only rumoured that there were ruins at Zimbabwe, all the previous information concerning Zimbabwe having come from the Moors, who saw it at some altogether indefinite time, which may have been any time between the eleventh century and 1505. See *Toróa* or *Toro* in Gazetteer for position of Zimbabwe referred to in the records.

² Only two *zimbaoes* (residences) of the *monomotapas* are mentioned in the records, one in the Manzovo (Mazoe) watershed, and the other

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slightest justification whatever, as shown later, for Professor Maciver's interpolating "Zimbabwe" as an explanation of "residence."

But to support his statement, Professor Maciver draws an extraordinary draft on the credulity of his readers, for on pp. 93 and 100 he invites them, where there is variance in accounts, to rely on Alcaçova, and to treat the accounts of Fathers Dos Santos and Monclaros as practically valueless!

ALCAÇOVA.

As shown by Dr. Theal in 1898, Alcaçova was an uneducated person. He was at Sofala ill for less than twelve months; he wrote in 1506 before a single Portuguese had entered the country, and he never went

FATHERS DOS SANTOS AND MONCLAROS.

Dos Santos was the best educated and most enlightened and reliable of all the Portuguese writers. He was eleven years in the country (1586 to 1597), travelling most extensively in the interior, and had

at Npande in Beza-Chidima (Shidima) district in the watershed of the Mossenguece (M'Zingesi). All the *monomotapas* mentioned in the records had their respective *zimbaoes* in these two localities only, and moved from one to the other according to the season of the year. This is a very common practice with Bantu chiefs.

The Masapa *zimbaoe*, which is the *zimbaoe* most frequently mentioned in the records, and was the *monomotapan* capital from prior to 1505 to 1760, was near Fura (Refure) mountain, and was about 140 miles (225·3 K.) south-west of Tete. This was "built of wood" (I, 23). "The King's palaces are built of wood covered with clay and thatched with straw" (VII, 275), and was "surrounded by a great wooden fence" (III, 356). This has always been very rightly considered as the *zimboache* (=residence of huts) of Barbosa.

The Beza-Chidima *zimbaoe* was about 70 (112·62 K.) to 100 miles (160·93 K.) south-west of Chicova, which is on the Zambesi at 100 miles (160·94 K.) west of Tete. This *zimbaoe* is stated to have been "close by" the Mossenguece (M'Zingesi) river (II, 126), which is a right bank tributary of the Zambesi. This district is rather fully described in the records, also in Livingstone's *Tributaries*, and other modern works. It was at this *zimbaoe* at Npande that Father Silveira was murdered on August 11, 1561 (see *Gazetteer of Mocaranga, 1505-1760 A.D.*, Chapter XV). This *zimbaoe* in Beza-Chidima is described in 1509 as "the common residence of the *monomotapa*" (I, 15).

A 'DEADLY PARALLEL'

inland. His credulosity is astonishing, his statements are irreconcilable, and are contradicted by his contemporaries. He mentions houses of "stone and clay" only in connection with a tradition "anciently," and obtained, as he states, his information from the Moors at Sofala, a source which Professor Maciver himself declared (p. 60) to be "untrustworthy."

acquired a knowledge of Chicaranga. He wrote as an eye-witness of what he describes.¹

Monclaros accompanied Barretto's expedition into the interior. He saw the *zimbaoes* of five kings, and describes what he actually saw.

Both Dos Santos and Monclaros state that the natives' huts were of wood, that the *zimbaoes* or residences of the *monomotapas* and of other kings were of wood, that all the stone buildings were then but "foundations," "ruins," and "ancient," and make no mention whatever of natives living in ruins or stone buildings, while Monclaros states that the natives never built with stone.

These two "deadly parallel" columns speak for themselves.

But Professor Maciver mentions De Goes as an authority for natives living in stone buildings.

De Goes wrote, "In the middle of this country [Batuia, called Butua by all the local writers, which territory is shown on all modern maps as Butua, or Bushmen's country] is a fortress built of large and heavy stones inside and out, it is a very curious and well-constructed building, as according to report no lime to join the stones can be seen. An inscription is cut in the stone over the entrance, so *ancient* that no one understands what it means.

¹ Dos Santos claims he possessed "extensive knowledge" of Mocaranga and its people (VII, 184).

PRE-HISTORIC RHODESIA

In other districts of the said plain [in Butua] there are other fortresses built in the same manner, in all of which the king has captains [sub-chiefs], and *so far as one can judge* they must have been constructed to guard the said gold mines, the prince [an ‘ancient’ prince] at whose command they were built, receiving the duties on the gold paid by the officials whom he sent there for this purpose; because this is what is done [but not in stone buildings] by the present kings of the aforesaid kingdom of Benomotapa” (III, 129).

This, then, is a pure surmise on the part of De Goes—“*so far as one can judge*,” and in putting this forward he himself frankly admits this to be but a mere conjecture on his part. He sought an explanation for the “ruins” of “ancient palaces and castles,” and on his own part solely he makes this gratuitous conjecture.

But De Goes was never in this country, but wrote in Portugal thousands of miles away. He was not an original writer. His conjecture as to Kafir “captains living in ruins,” the purpose of their being there, or that Kafirs at that time ever lived in ruins, is refuted by every single local writer, men who had spent years in the country, and whose descriptions of the Ma-Karanga, their customs, practices, and employments, are in every detail ideally exact descriptions of the conditions of the Ma-Karanga of to-day. Where there is variance between a compiler, as Dr. Theal shows De Goes to have been, writing at a distance of thousands of miles, on the one hand, and a number of original and independent writers on the spot who describe what they actually saw, and who are perfectly unanimous in their accounts, which all refute the statements and conjecture of the compiler, the original writers must most certainly be trusted.

Again, De Goes, without rhyme or reason, “improves” considerably on the topography of the local writers, for instance, Zimbabwe, which no doubt was meant, was in the district of Toroa in the kingdom of Sabia, whereas Butua is over 300 miles (482·79 K.) distant towards the north-west, Mocaranga lying between and separating

DE GOES AN ACADEMIC WRITER

the two kingdoms. He is alone in locating Zimbabwe in Butua. He also freely interpolates into the text of the original writers his own personal ideas, conjectures, and explanations, which interpolations are not warranted, as can be seen, by the contexts of any of the original documents from which he compiles his account. Further, he presumes to alter and revise the correct Chicaranga expressions used by the local writers until they become absolutely unintelligible. This can be noticed at once by comparing the translations of the original documents quoted with the compilations of De Goes. In fact, De Goes is but an admirable prototype of a certain class of academic writers of to-day, who, without ever having been in South Africa, and having no first-hand knowledge of the subject on which they presume to be authorities, are so astonishingly prompt to propound dogmatic and "final solutions," often of a painfully ludicrous character, for all South African problems.

De Barros v. De Goes.

But it must be borne in mind that De Goes does not in this instance detail any current events, but simply gives an altogether unauthorised version, with conjectures, of the very same tradition as is mentioned by De Barros.

De Barros was an historian, De Goes a compiler. De Barros is known as "the Livy of Portugal," and as an historian ranks exceedingly high, in fact, "he has always been regarded as occupying the first place among Portuguese historians." De Barros had access to the journals, letters, and reports of the early discoverers and officers of all classes in India and Africa, and from these sources his information was derived" (Theal, VI, 1). He was Treasurer of the Indian Department, which included South-east Africa, and was in direct and constant communication with the local writers, and was consequently far better informed on African matters than the compiler De Goes, who had other official occupation, could possibly have been. Further, he *had* visited the western coast of Africa, and was acquainted with native conditions.

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Yet De Barros says nothing of the "captains" in "fortresses" as conjectured by De Goes. The tradition related both by De Goes and De Barros originated "second hand" from an "untrustworthy source," so says Professor Maciver, and these are his exact words, it was "derived second hand from the same untrustworthy source, viz. the reports of the Arab [? Persian Moors] intermediaries who traded to Sofala" (p. 60). Therefore, De Goes' conjecture as to "captains" in "fortresses" is doubly "untrustworthy." This was the opinion of readers of the records some years ago before the brief visit of Professor Maciver to Zimbabwe.

De Barros informs us (VI, 267, 268) that the Moors in 1505 stated to the Portuguese that at some altogether indefinite time previously, that is, any time between the eleventh century and 1505, certain Moors had seen the ruins (Zimbabwe, without doubt), which they then considered to be "very ancient." From the same "untrustworthy source"—De Goes—we are told, "The edifices were called by the natives symbaoe, for every place where the Benomotapa is may be so called [see '*Zimbaoes*' are not '*Zimbabgi*', later]. All the king's other dwellings have this name," and an official "called symbacáyo [*kya*=hut, *symbacáyo*, hut-residences], as we should say, keeper of the symbaoe."

But De Barros, who is recognised in other instances as being far more exact and careful than De Goes, shows the Moors themselves also made a conjecture, and he states, "*In the opinion* of the Moors who saw it, it is very ancient, and was built there to keep possession of the mines, which are very old." Thus we have the gratuitous conjecture of De Goes, a mere exaggeration and enlargement of the conjecture of the Moors, derived "second hand" from an "untrustworthy source," and yet on this cantilever bridge-work of unwarranted conjectures Professor Maciver most solemnly announces an "historical fact."

But De Barros' account of the report of the Moors goes on, "When and by whom these edifices were raised, as the people of the land are ignorant of the art of writing, there is no record, but they say they are the work of the devil,

'ANCIENT RUINS OF STONES'

for in comparison with their power and knowledge it does not seem possible for them that they should be the work of man," and De Barros adds, "*The people being barbarians, all their houses are of wood*!"

Further, De Barros states, "Considering the situation and the fashion of the edifice, so far in the interior, and which the Moors confessed was not built by them, from its *antiquity*, and their ignorance of the characters of the inscription above the door, we may suppose that this is the region which Ptolemy calls Agysymba." This clearly shows that De Barros did not consider the stone buildings were erected by the Ma-Karanga, or that they were occupied by Ma-Karanga "captains" for the purpose conjectured by De Goes.

But the records show these edifices were already in ruins. Faria e Sousa states, "In the mountain Afur [Refure] near Masapa are to be seen the *ruins* of stately buildings, supposed to be palaces and castles" (I, 23). These ruins are further described as "fragments of old walls and *ancient ruins* of stones," so old that they were ascribed to Solomonic times (VII, 275, etc.). Of the Beza ruins they state, "The Kafirs say they are a supreme piece of work. All the *monomotapas* are buried there, and it serves them for a cemetery" (III, 356). Other stone buildings are mentioned, and all are declared to have been "ancient," and in every instance the natives had no tradition as to their origin. Zimbabwe, we know, was "very ancient."

But there are still further evidences that Great Zimbabwe was not "the *monomotapan* capital."

In 1560 we find that "all the *monomotapas*" were buried in the Beza ruins, which "serves them as a cemetery." These ruins are in the same district as was the northern *zimbaoe* of the *monomotapas*, the Beza-Chidima [modern Shidima] district. This district is from 350 (566.26 K.) to 400 miles (643.72 K.) from Zimbabwe. Had the *monomotapas* lived at Great Zimbabwe, which the records show was not the case, not even in traditional times, they could not very well have been buried in the Beza ruins. The climate would render this impossible, beside which such removal would, it is ascertained, have been contrary to all native

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practice. "All the *monomotapas*" implies generations, for we read, "They know how many kings they have had." In Chapter V it is shown for how many generations the natives know where their kings are buried.

In 1505 the natives only knew the district in which Zimbabwe stands as *Toro*=ancient. "In the plains¹ of *Toro*" was the "mighty wall," "tower," etc. (Zimbabwe), mentioned by Alvarez. But we read the natives did not know who the *ba-notorontoro* (very ancient people), who had built and occupied Zimbabwe, could have been.

Further, the records do not contain a single reference, direct or indirect, by any local writer of any natives occupying any stone buildings whatever; in fact, as we have seen, stating the exact contrary.

"Zimbaes" are not "Zimbabgi."

"The *zimbae* or head kraal of the *monomotapa* is pretty clearly not necessarily at the place where the ruins are, because the whole country is scattered with *zimbaes*. Each petty chief calls his head kraal by this name, and this fact not thoroughly recognised has brought about endless confusion in topography" (Bent, 234). It is not surprising that Professor Maciver, with no knowledge whatever of the country, or of its people, or of the Chicaranga language, has committed the mistake pointed out fifteen years ago by Mr. Bent, and to which error attention has been so repeatedly called by a score of writers since Mr. Bent's time. Dr. Theal once made the same mistake, but his later editions all show the requisite correction.

Without exception, all the reviewers of Professor Maciver's work, in accepting his statements, have made the same fundamental mistake. Even those whose profound knowledge of anthropological matters would lead one to imagine that some care would have been exercised before attempting to build up a solution on the basis of such a palpable error, have leapt from merest con-

¹ The "plains" would be the great stretch of open country lying between Victoria and Enkeldorn, which constitutes a very noticeable topographical feature in Mashonaland, and is known as The Range.

'ZIMBAOES' NOT 'ZIMBABGI'

jecture and surmise to pure assertion, greatly to the astonishment of all South African scientists and students. They have noticed that both *zimbaoe* and *zimbabgi* commence with *zimba*, and without the slightest preliminary inquiry, and adopting Professor Maciver's statement, they have at once concluded that both *zimbaoe* and *zimbabgi* mean practically the same thing, and the *monomotapas* living in *zimbaoes* these *zimbaoes* were necessarily the stone buildings, and especially meant Zimbabwe. Consequently, the whole question was splendidly settled, and we read of "the *monomotapan* capital" at Zimbabwe, of "Kafirs living in walled towns," and of the "identification" of the Zun-hauhy [Sinoia] of Alcaçova with Zimbabwe, presumably, in this case, because both names commence with "Z."¹

The residences of the *monomotapas* are described in the Portuguese records as *zimbaoes*, or "residences," but the term does not indicate buildings of stone. We have already seen that the records show that not a single *zimbaoe* of the *monomotapas* was built of stone, and that not a single *monomotapa* lived at any ruins. The records further show that at least nine of the *zimbaoes* referred to were wood-fenced kraals, which were burnt down in times of war, or on the removal to another site. These *zimbaoes* included all the principal kraals of the *monomotapas*, and of the kings of Manica, Quiteve, and Mongas, no others being mentioned. The only suggestion of the *monomotapas* living in stone buildings is that conjectured by De Goes, who never visited the country, and this is refuted by all the local writers, and also by De Barros, who had the original documents in his actual possession.

Dr. Livingstone mentions several "*zimbaoes*" north of the Zambesi where there are no ruins of stone buildings. These, he states, were the "residences" of petty chiefs. Monteiro and Gametto (1831) mention several "*zimbaoes*" as "residences" of chiefs who lived in ordinary kraals.

¹ Professor Maciver states (*M. R.*, p. 59) that "Zimbabwe" in the form of "zimbaoe" or "simbaoe" frequently occurs in the Portuguese records. Had he been acquainted with Chicaranga he could not possibly have made such an error in such an elementary matter. Not once is this the case.

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Lacerda (1798) mentions the “*zimbae*,” or “residence,” of the King of Cazembe at the south end of Lake Moero, 350 miles (563·26 K.) north of the Zambesi.

In Mashonaland there are to-day scores of *zimbaoes*, or “residences,” of chiefs, just as in South Africa there are scores of *Dorpeni* (*Dorp*=town (Dutch), *eni* (Chicaranga), locative) or isolated settlements where white men reside. *Zimba* means buildings, and *zimba* simply is not only applied to ordinary wattle and daub villages, but also to granaries and cattle-kraals, and also graves in rock fissures blocked up with stones, or any graves covered with stones, or a wattle and daub “spirit hut” built over a grave. *Zimba* is also used to denote the place where there are buildings, when the final “*oe*” is added. It is to-day the Chicaranga term that nearest conveys the idea of “home” to the native mind. Beyond this the word is no special name for a special place, but is a general reference to any local residence or building.

Every single ruin of stone buildings in South Mashonaland is called by the Ma-Karanga *zimbabgi*. Great Zimbabwe is known to the Ma-Karanga as *Makuru Zimbabgi* (*zim-bab-gi*), “the great buildings of stone” (*zimba*, pl. buildings; *mabgi*, pl. stones). The word *zimbabgi* is never once mentioned in the records, though several of the writers were competent Chicaranga scholars, and published catechisms in that language (I, 405). Jerri’s people, who lived at Khami ruins up to 1836, state that Khami ruins were and are still known to them as *Zimbabgi* (*Great Zimbabwe*, pp. 82, 83). Unfortunately the name *zimbabgi* has become in the popular mind *Zimbabwe*. Further, each *zimbabgi* has also its own local designation, for instance, the Temple is known as *Rusingu*.

Hence it will be seen that attempts to treat the *zimbaoes* of the *monomotapas* and other kings as *zimbabgi*, or vice versa, are altogether without warrant, and any argument founded on their supposed identity must be altogether valueless. The Portuguese writers, as before cited, are unanimous in declaring that the *monomotapas* had “no fortresses or walled cities.”

ETHNOLOGICAL

CHAPTER V

NOTES ON THE TRADITIONS OF SOUTH AFRICAN RACES, ESPECIALLY OF THE MA-KARANGA OF MASHONALAND

Argument.

"*The date of the Temple [at Zimbabwe] was not earlier than 1400–1500 A.D., and possibly later.*"—Professor Maciver, *R. G. S. Journal*, April 1906, p. 334.

"*The date of the Elliptical Temple [at Zimbabwe] was not earlier than the fourteenth or fifteenth century.*"—Professor Maciver, *Mediæval Rhodesia*, pp. 63, 64.

The reply I made (*Cape Times*, March 19, 1906) to the above statements was to the effect that such a comparatively modern date was on several grounds, mainly archæological, absolutely impossible. De Barros stated that on the arrival of the Portuguese at Sofala (1505) the Moors informed the Portuguese that at some altogether indefinite time earlier, which might have been any time between the eleventh century and 1505, the Temple was reported to be "very ancient," and that the Ma-Karanga possessed no tradition whatever as to its erection. De Barros further stated, "When, and by whom, these edifices were raised, as the people of the land are ignorant of the art of writing, there is no record, but they say they are the work of the devil, for in comparison with their powers and knowledge it does not seem possible for them that they should be the work of man." "The people," added De Barros, "being barbarians, all their houses are of wood" (VI, 268). Nor were the Moors able to ascertain that the natives had any tradition or legend as to the people who had originally occupied these ruins, and whose occupation must, as the ruins demonstrate, have covered some centuries.

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Therefore, (1) had the Temple been built "in 1500 and possibly even later" the Moors must have seen it before it was erected, which amounts to a *reductio ad absurdum*; (2) had it been erected in 1400, or even two centuries before the earliest period claimed by Professor Maciver, the natives would have possessed some tradition or legend as to its erection and as to the people who had originally occupied it. I claimed that native tradition concerning very ordinary matters generally extended back for one hundred and fifty years, but in special and leading matters to considerably over two hundred years, in some authenticated instances to over three hundred years, and that such a leading event as the erection of the Temple—a most colossal structure involving the employment of labour to an inconceivable extent—must have been the subject of tradition had it taken place even two or three hundred years earlier than the earliest date assigned to it by Professor Maciver.

Professor Maciver (*Cape Times*, May 14, 1906) rejoins that the above statement as to Bantu tradition can be "pilloried."

Difficulties of Research.

The difficulty of securing material whereon to build reliable and veracious tribal history is immense. The best of such *résumés*, so far as have hitherto been obtained, are but scattered and patchy fragments. The experiences of all careful inquirers are identical, the main obstacle being in getting behind the freemasonry of the black man. The natives are known to be instinctively suspicious of any such inquiries, and they feign a profound ignorance as to the antecedents of their people, and often fear to divulge to a white man any tribal information, mystery, or secret, such relation, at any rate in certain instances, being regarded by them as an insult to the spirits of their ancestors, and as an offence against their tribe, and as a breach of the oaths taken on initiation to manhood to preserve inviolable the traditions and mysteries of the tribe.

RESEARCHES AS TO TRADITIONS

Therefore considerable caution is required in making these investigations, and infinite patience is essential. Leading questions and attempts at cross-examination always defeat the inquirer's purpose, as does also any ordinary or even casual interest displayed by the investigator. The successful inquirer must possess a thorough knowledge of the idiom of the local language, and, moreover, he must be known to and implicitly trusted by the natives, and to secure their confidence is often a matter of years.

Another difficulty to be faced is a possible confusion of names. Every native has a birth-name. He assumes a new name on his circumcision, which name is used during his manhood, and most probably he also has a nickname. So a chief will probably have four names—a birth, circumcisional, dynastic, and nick name. Frequently new names are also given on special occasions, such as on exhibition of great bravery, or on victories.

To seek information as to tribal history, tradition, or mythology, in districts where there has been intercourse between native and white man, is practically futile. Native history and tradition die on contact with white people, for with such contact the independence and self-reliance of the native disappear, the native mind becoming engrossed with new conditions of life. There is then no occasion to appeal to tribal precedent, to the customs and laws of his ancestors for guidance, and consequently the faculty of retaining the traditional customs and regulations of his tribe is gone, for all such questions are settled for him by the law and usage of the white man. Thus the *motif* for the *esprit de corps* of the tribe disappears, while the influence of the chief becomes but nominal. In such districts the presence of the white man for trading or other purposes induces the advent of people of other tribes, though of the same race, and the population soon becomes mixed. This fusion of peoples destroys the *motif* of the cohesion of the tribe, which was always formerly maintained in closest bonds by the tradition and pride of the individual tribe and its veneration for its own ancestral dynasty.

In the vicinity of the settlements of white people, and

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often of mission stations in remote districts, it will be found that the partially "educated" native considers himself to be above all such concerns as tribal history and tradition, and that he is "not a Kafir now," even though he still be as uneducated and as heathenish as his brethren. He has been taught by white people that sacrifices to his ancestors are wicked practices, and now he knows nothing or will say nothing of his ancestry. But under this thin veneer of civilisation he is at heart just as superstitious as any Kafir could possibly be.

But to successfully prosecute such researches one must get among pure-breed tribes in the more inaccessible parts of the country, where the native is found among his primæval conditions of life, and where the *esprit de corps* of the tribe is still a potent, binding, and compelling force of loyalty to its dynastic chief. The more inaccessible the country the clearer and more definite is the tradition.

So, too, tradition is unobtainable from cross-breed tribes, who have few or no traditions, or from conglomerate tribes, such, for instance, as the Matabele, whose separate existence as a paramount power has not exceeded ninety years, and whose people are made up largely by all the various Zulu and non-Zulu tribes which M'Zilikazi incorporated into his tribe before he crossed to the north of the Limpopo.

Where Tradition is to be Sought.

But trustworthy tradition covering a considerable length of time is obtainable from such of the great tribes whose blood is least mixed, and whose occupation of practically the same territories has covered centuries of time. For instance, Dr. Livingstone considered that the traditions of the Kalahari Bushmen and other tribes of the Kalahari, though possibly fewer, are more definite and more ancient than those of ordinary Bantu, as these tribes, having occupied a country probably from a remote past, which had been removed from the great lines of the migrations of the stronger races, have remained more perfectly isolated than any other people, and have probably in consequence retained their habits and modes of thought with less altera-

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tion and innovation than any others. This was also the opinion of Dr. Bleek, the great authority on Bushmen and Bantu, and he affirms that there existed "a great store of Bushman traditional lore."

But the Ma-Karanga can be shown to have been less migratory than other Bantu people south of the equator. To-day they occupy exactly the same territory as they were occupying almost one thousand years ago. In 1505 their kingdom had already been disrupted, and only traditions of that disruption then survived. But how long before that time their kingdom had existed no one knows, still less when it was founded, and even still less as to the time they first arrived south of the Zambesi. We can only judge they were occupying the same territory some centuries before 1505 because, according to Bantu authorities, and local evidences presented, they had arrived south of the Zambesi at so early and indefinite a time before certain other later Bantu intrusions from the north with whom they had in some former period, and in the north, been in intimate contact, that their vocabularies had become entirely distinct, and their racial characteristics surprisingly different. Further, some hundred place-names mentioned in the records early in the sixteenth century are of purest Chicaranga as spoken by the Ma-Karanga to-day, and very many of these remain identically the same names for rivers, mountains, districts, and local dynasties (some of the latter still surviving in the same localities to-day) as are shown on modern maps, and are in use by the present Ma-Karanga. Such topographical nomenclature, covering a vast area for at least five hundred years, bespeaks a very long occupation of Ma-Karanga, extending back to some indefinitely remote time previous to 1505.

Therefore, the Ma-Karanga being such a pre-eminently conservative people, and having occupied the same territory for the best part of a thousand years, traditions concerning their tribes may be expected to be of greater age and of a more defined character than those of any other Bantu people, and this apart from any consideration of the fact that they possess an intelligence superior to

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that of ordinary Bantu. Dr. Theal (*History of South Africa*, p. 295) states, "The Ma-Karanga had developed their religious system and their industries more highly than any of the other tribes of Southern and Eastern Africa. Of all the Bantu they had the largest proportion of Asiatic blood in their veins, which will account for their mental and mechanical superiority."

Opportunities for Research becoming Limited.

But it is undeniable that so far as the Bantu south of the Zambesi are concerned the opportunities for research as to tribal history, tradition, and folklore are fast becoming limited, and respecting certain tribes such opportunities are now for ever gone. What was possible thirty years ago is not possible to-day. At all points tribes are coming in close contact with the civilisation of white peoples. This was repeatedly pointed out by Dr. Bleek over thirty years ago, and he strongly urged that investigations both by Governments and private individuals should be taken in hand at once before it was too late.

Even R. C. Schunke, in 1876, wrote, "Now is the time that something ought to be done, for many of the less numerous clans are fast diminishing, and ere long most traces of their existence will be effaced. South Africa is a rich field to ethnologists, comparative philologists, and anthropologists, and it would indeed be a credit to the country if some of its people would interest themselves in these subjects and try to preserve for the future anything of the languages and dialects spoken by the many tribes, together with their very rich folklore. With many tribes it is already too late."

Since these appeals were urged upon South Africans, practically nothing has been done to take up these studies, but in the meantime civilisation and trading and labour influences have been making enormous strides in native territories which thirty years ago were virgin fields for the scientific investigator. The golden opportunity was allowed to slip by, and now we must realise that inexplicable indifference has resulted in many valuable avenues of research

VENERATION OF ANCESTORS

with regard to many tribes being now for ever closed. Still there remains very much that might be accomplished even at this late date. But to resume.

Veneration of Ancestors.

In 915 A.D., Massoude, writing of the Bantu, or of that section of the Bantu who then occupied the Sofala territory, describes their preachers as representing to the people "the example of their ancestors and former kings. These people have no religious code. Their kings are guided by custom and conform themselves in government to certain rules of policy." These Bantu preachers of 915 A.D. survive to-day in the lion-prophets of Mashonaland. Abn Zeyd Hassou, who returned from China just after 851 A.D. by the east coast of Africa, stated that the preachers "recite the actions of their countrymen who had gone before them. One never finds elsewhere such constant preachers." Bantu appeals to their ancestors, and sacrifices to their spirits are also referred to by the Arabian and Persian writers of the tenth and eleventh centuries in their descriptions of the Bantu of the Sofala country.

The tenacious adherence of Bantu to precedents is most remarkable. Their customs to-day are identically the same as those described a thousand years ago. To a novel suggestion or idea their common remark is, "Our ancestors never did so." The records (1505-1760) give a dozen similar replies, for instance, "They never extracted the gold from the rock because their ancestors had never done it." "When their jurists differ at any trial," says Dr. Theal, "they will not pronounce judgment lest they establish a faulty precedent. So punctilious are they in this respect that inquiries by chiefs into the prohibited degrees of consanguinity to establish an alleged common ancestor extend to seven generations." Inquiries into the relationship of intended husband and wife extend to the fifth and sixth cousin (*Kafir Socialism*, p. 12).

On this point the Rev. H. H. Dugmore's Papers (1846) show, "The whole law and constitution which regulate Kafir kingdoms are but a collection of *precedents*, consisting

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of the decisions of the chiefs and councils of by-gone days, embodied in the recollections, personal or traditional, of the people of the existing generation. The decisions of deceased chiefs of note are the guide for the living in similar circumstances, and the justice of those decisions is usually assumed as a matter of course."

Every Bantu tribe has from time immemorial, and up to the present day, possessed a special caste of narrators of the prowess and achievements of its people and chiefs, men whose memories were capable of retaining the largest amount of cherished folklore, men specially initiated, trained, and set apart from their youth to incite the imagination of the multitude, special keepers of tradition, the members of a priestly order. This caste, influencing an ancestor-worshipping people, descended as to the spirits and the brave deeds of chiefs who were departed, till the memory of them amounted to deification. These verbal traditions, recounted over and over again, would thus be handed down from generation to generation, any variation in tradition, or innovation in custom, or any divulging of hidden mysteries being regarded as an insult to their ancestors and as an offence against the whole tribe.

The *Records of South-east Africa* (1505-1760) describe, as shown later, the veneration by the natives of the memories of their ancestors, especially of departed *monomotapas* and kings, of the great respect for their "ancient" burial-places, and of the annual ceremonies to invoke the spirits of their departed rulers or *muzimos*, while their greatest oaths were sworn on the actual names of their ancestors. Sousa (I, 24) stated, "They believe their kings go to heaven, and call upon them in time of need, as we on the saints."

These features are common to-day, and especially so among the Ma-Karanga of Mashonaland. The descriptions given five hundred years ago of such ancestor-worship are exact descriptions of customs prevailing among the natives of to-day. Thus it will be seen that the genealogical tables of dynastic rulers of various Bantu tribes, which are mentioned later, are founded upon the observance for many

GENEALOGIES OF CHIEFS

centuries of the practice of venerating departed chiefs, and as this was the highest religious idea known to the native mind, its due observance, and the rigid adherence to the actual facts relating to such kings or chiefs, would be preserved without wilful distortion, alteration, or omission.

Sousa, referring to the Ma-Karanga, states, "They speak of things past by tradition." Father Dos Santos states, "All ancient history and other things which they know they learn by traditions from their ancestors"; and De Barros shows that though "the Ma-Karanga cannot say what their origin was, they can say how many kings they have had."

Traditions as to Ancestors.

Genealogical tables of dynastic chiefs of several distinct Bantu tribes contained in the various standard works on the Bantu extend to ten, sixteen, and even twenty generations, and can in some particulars be verified by the contemporary traditions of other tribes concerning them, and also by philological and ethnological examination. These longer tables may not, for reasons shown later, be correct in every detail, but certain other tables in the same works, which cover a less period of time (seven to ten generations), have been ascertained to be practically correct.

The published genealogical tables of the main tribe of the Bakuena show, says Stow, an unbroken line of chiefs for twenty generations, while that of the Barhurutsi extends to nineteen generations, and dates from their great ancestor, Malope.

The Baralong possess tradition covering eighteen generations, extending from the time of their renowned ancestor, Noto. Thus, calculating a generation at thirty-five years (allowing for frequent minorities in an age of warfare and raiding), Noto must have lived in the thirteenth century. The tradition affirms that during Noto's rule the tribe was living very far away in the north.

Livingstone gives (*Last Journals*, p. 295) a line of ten Cazembes, and states that the abodes of this succession of dynastic chiefs were still known.

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Arbousset gives a line of Zulu kings for twelve generations, and states that the burial-places of most were known to the natives.

Grant gives the names of six dynastic rulers of the Ma-Lembo (Wa-Lembo), and states that tradition exists that this tribe came from very far north of the Limpopo. This tradition is very well-founded, as it is known that isolated kraals of Ma-Lembo are to be found in the southern parts of both Matabeleland and Mashonaland ; while both Beuster and Gottschling show they were once a powerful tribe in the north, but now degenerated, and that they came from Mashonaland during the latter half of the seventeenth century, also that their language, in vocabulary and grammar, proves they were once a distinct tribe of the great Bantu family.

In the Rev. H. H. Dugmore's Papers (1846) is the following, "The genealogical list of the principal chiefs of Kaffraria extends through a period embracing sixteen generations, and marks the successive separation of the tribes from the original stock. The order of succession among the more remote generations is, however, very uncertain, although the names there given are generally familiar in the traditional remembrances of the various tribes." Dugmore also gives other tables, comprising twelve generations from Xosa down to Khili.

McLean, in his *Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs* (1866), gives several genealogical tables, extending back for many generations.

Bryant (p. 29) states that Zulu traditions dating from soon after 1600 concerning the names of certain chiefs was confirmed by his own researches ; that the tradition as to the genealogical line of the Mtetwa chiefs dates from 1600, and includes nine generations from father to sons (p. 35), also that concerning the table of nine successors of Zulu chiefs dating from Malandela, about 1560, is for six generations "certain" (p. 38).

The table of descents of the Bushman chief 'Nambe shows six generations (Stow, p. 282). The Batlaru were ruled by an unbroken line of chiefs in eight descents (*ibid.* p. 529).

MA-TEBELE TRADITIONS

The Korana possess a pedigree of chiefs for six generations between Kova and a chief in 1836 (*ibid.* p. 269). These traditions, says Mr. Stow, were also verified by Mr. Backhouse. Arbousset also confirms the Korana tradition, but shows eight generations, not six only (*ibid.* p. 298). "The pedigree of the Batlapin chiefs takes us back eleven generations from the present paramount chief" (*ibid.* p. 437).

Matabele tradition extends back at least some six or seven generations of dynastic chiefs, in each case from father to son, and covers over two hundred years. This tradition is confirmed by the colonial history of Zululand. Each of the chiefs, named later, ruled for an exceptionally long period. Prior to 1837 this tribe occupied territory in Northern Zululand, the chief town of M'Zilikazi being Mosiga. Here M'Zilikazi was visited by Captain W. C. Harris in 1836 and 1837, and his people are described in *An Expedition into Southern Africa*; also by Lewis Grout, who states (*Zululand*, p. 73) that one of the royal towns of Chaka, from whom the Matabele separated, was, before 1828, called Bulawayo. M'Zilikazi's father was Machobana, his grandfather Ubeche, and his great-grandfather Maganze. The Kamalu¹ section of M'Zilikalzi's people is stated to have lost much of its influence before the migration to the present Matabeleland. Grout further states that the family was before 1828 known by two names, Dhlo-dhlo and Kumalu.

Mr. E. G. Howman, Native Commissioner, N'Danga, Mashonaland, states that among the Ma-Karanga tradition goes back for three hundred years, but not longer, though in settling the successions of paramount chiefs within his area he has known inquiries extending back to twelve successions of chiefs.

These instances can be multiplied.

Respecting the published tables of dynasties, Dr. Theal is of opinion that some of these represent a longer period

¹ These writers do not consider that the Matabele were a pure Zulu people when they placed themselves under Chaka. Matabele is not a Zulu word but a Basuto nickname, *le-Tebele* (*Bryant's Zulu and English Dictionary*, Introduction, p. 54).

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of time than the number of generations would appear to allow, as it is quite a feature for tribes to omit such dynastic chiefs whose rule had witnessed defeats, or whose reigns had been without stirring event. In such instances the names would not be given.

Further, it was until recently an ordinary custom for chiefs to take poison when any disaster fell upon their people, or they suffered from a natural physical defect. This practice is also referred to by Don Santos (VII, 194). In such instances their names would not be mentioned.

Traditions as to Northern Origin of Bantu.

Stow's *Native Races of South Africa*, edited by Dr. Theal, gives the following (p. 3), "A considerable number of native traditions, obtained from widely separated sources, are almost unanimous with regard to the directions of the early migrations of the South African tribes, viz. from the north to the south." Mr. Stow goes on to state that, as a rule, the forefathers of the Bantu migrated southwards and found the country in the undisturbed occupation of vast herds of game and of Bushmen, the Bantu classing, as is notoriously usual with all Bantu peoples, the Bushmen and the game in the same category as "wild animals," and that the Bantu believed the Bushmen existed before the Great Father had created any Bantu; and further, that among the Bantu the tradition holds that they (the Bantu) came from the north-east, some indefinite place towards the sun-rising (see also Arbousset, p. 373).

Casalis mentions that the Basuto bury their dead facing north-east, and say that "the children must always look towards the regions from which their ancestors proceeded." Both Arbousset and Chapman show that native traditions as to the legendary cave from which all Bantu tribes believe they came, point to the cave being very far away in the north. But the legend as to the cave, the tradition of a northern origin, and the burial towards the north, and north-east, are common with the majority of Bantu. The northern and north-eastern origin of the Bantu has already been established on philological grounds.

TRADITIONS AS TO ORIGIN

The evidences of rock-paintings and chippings, of caves and cliff shelters, of semi-fossilised skeletal remains, of stone implements, especially of the pierced stone weights of the *kibi* or digging stick, conclusively prove that the Bushmen—a purely hunting race—once occupied the territories extending from the Zambesi to the Cape of Good Hope, that the advancing cordon of warlike Bantu from the further north gradually pressed the Bushmen south and also west. All this is an ascertained fact demonstrated beyond cavil by ethnologist, philologist, and anthropologist. But an equally well-ascertained fact is that the Bantu arrived south of the Zambesi at any rate not much earlier than two centuries before 1000 A.D., therefore the tradition of the Bantu people must be fully a thousand years old.

Lichtenstein, early in the eighteenth century, when he visited the Bechuanas, who are of course Bantu, found the rivers and mountains bearing Hottentot names. He says, "The former presence of Hottentot and Bushmen elements all over South Africa is proved by the geographical nomenclature of the regions now occupied by the intruding Bantu" (I, 400).

Stow (p. 11) states, "The Korana traditions appear to be conclusive on the point of the prior existence of the Bushmen in the country at the time their forefathers migrated from tropical Central Africa to the western coast and then to the Cape."

Kallenberg (Stow, p. 267) states that the traditions of the Korana are very clear upon the point that their forefathers came from the north-east interior, the description answering to the great lake country of Central Africa, but that they were driven southwards by tribes, stated to have been Bachoana, "about the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century." The Korana traditions are shown to be many centuries old.

The Bakohobo, a branch of the Bapiri, still have, says Stow, as object of veneration a monkey—a species not to be found near their present territory, but only in the north, whence their ancestors originally came.

It is impossible to ignore this tradition, so general and

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so deeply engrained is it in the minds of all Bantu people south of the Zambesi. Ever since 1810 this tradition has been discussed by scientific authorities, and there is absolute unanimity among independent inquirers as to its actual existence. Works dealing with South African races repeatedly affirm this tradition, and this from writers in widely separated territories and among distinct branches of the Bantu family.

Poisoned Water Tradition.

There is one interesting item of tradition among certain Ma-Karanga of Mashonaland, and this is derived from several parts of that territory, and is alluded to not only by Mr. Theodore Bent, but by other writers who have made an identical discovery. The tradition is to the effect that far back before the time of their great-great-grandfathers, an army of white men ascended (by the Zambesi is definitely stated in some quarters) into the country from the sea on the east, and that they were all killed because they, the Ma-Karanga, poisoned the water. In 1570 the ill-fated expedition of De Barreto ascended the Zambesi for the purpose of punishing the Ma-Karanga king for the murder of Father Silveira, the whole force being destroyed by the malaria of the Zambesi.

Father Monclaros, one of the chaplains of that expedition, wrote, "The greater part of the soldiers were dead, the rest were in a bad state, continually a prey to the most dangerous fevers." Father Monclaros further assigns "the poison of the natives" put into the drinking-water holes or wells as one of the reasons of the great mortality among the troops and draught animals. Authorities on the Bantu show that the native statement that they poisoned the water (not only on this occasion, but on others) may sometimes be but an idiomatic method of conveying the idea that malaria originates in bad water, and also that most probably the native witch-doctors of that day, as in more recent times, had charmed or bewitched the drinking-water of the advancing expedition.

De Barreto's expedition is the only expedition which

POISONED WATER TRADITION

could possibly have been referred to by the native. Records and research know of no other later incident to which the tradition could possibly have referred. The importance of the expedition and its fate can be gauged by the wide-spread area of Ma-Karanga country in which the tradition still lingers.

But it has always been the practice in inter-tribal warfare for the natives to poison the drinking-water in the holes and wells of their enemies. Natives to-day will say this was a common practice until the last few years, and that the poisoning was effected by breaking up the branches of euphorbia trees, the milk from which at once turns the whole water white. Dr. Livingstone shows that the natives of these parts were known to poison water in ponds by throwing in branches of *Euphorbia arborescens*, the juice of which he states was sufficiently injurious to seriously affect the quality of the drinking-water, if not to poison animals.

Massoude, in 915 A.D., describing the practices of the Bantu of the Sofala country, states, "When they [the natives] wish to catch them [elephants], they throw in the water the leaves, the bark, and the branches of a tree which grows in their country. Then they lie in ambush until the elephants come to drink. This water burns and intoxicates them. They fall and cannot get up again."

Traditions of Portuguese Occupation, 1505-1760.

In addition to the Poisoned Water Tradition of the Ma-Karanga, there are still existing among them traditions concerning events connected with the Portuguese occupation of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, if not of the sixteenth century.

Dr. Livingstone, in a letter to Sir George Grey, shows that the Dominican missionaries were two hundred years from after 1500 in Zambesia, and made converts where they settled, the descendants of such converts remaining in the localities generations after the missionaries were withdrawn. He had found on the Zambesi and far inland in one of such localities that the natives before eating

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made the sign of the cross in the air, but had otherwise gone back to their barbarous customs.

The Ma-Karanga are known while hunting, and before shooting or throwing, to pick up a small stone and pass it rapidly backwards and forwards across their foreheads. This they state secures their hitting the mark, and they would not think of shooting or throwing without first doing this. Chicaranga students have always considered this practice as a survival of the original sign of the cross, taught by the Dominican missionaries of two or three, or even four, centuries ago, it being now regarded as but a luck sign.

Dr. Livingstone mentions that on the Zambezi and very far inland there is a tradition among the natives as to certain lands which they call "White Man's Land," and though they cultivate this land, they say it does not belong to them, but was sold very many generations ago by one of their kings to a white man, and they declared this white man had purchased it. Dr. Livingstone mentions several traditions existing among the natives of Southern Zambezia, which he states relate to events connected with the early Portuguese occupation, of which there are evidences surviving in place-names and words in use by the natives of to-day.

Father Torrend instances the expression of the Karanga of Wange (Wankie, near Victoria Falls), "We eat the body of God" (referring to sacrifices), as dating back to Father Silveira's teaching (1560). Father Silveira baptised the *monomotapa* at the 'Npande *zimbaoe*, or residence, in the Beza-Chidima district. "They prayed to him who was long dead, the child of God, who lived in the water at Swingo [Victoria Falls]." He adds, "I also find that since the days of Silveira the kings of those parts were never recognised as such until they had received something like baptism" (Torrend's *Comparative Grammar*, pp. 288, 294; also quotes *Der Neue Welt-Bot.*, 1748, n. 555, p. 106; also quoted in Livingstone's *Missionary Travels*, p. 523).

The Ma-Karanga "*Ndjila-ja-Basungu*" tradition ("the road of the white people") in Baroe, which was in 1560

'WHITE MEN IN ARMOUR'

and is to-day immediately north of Manica, a track leading from Sena through Baroe towards the old *monomotapan* capital of Masapa on the Mazoe, is still met with, and has been alluded to by several writers.

The "White Men in Armour" tradition is very widely spread among the Ma-Karanga. This refers undoubtedly to the Portuguese soldiers, whom the records frequently mention as wearing steel armour when fighting the natives.

"Traditions concerning the Ma-Zimba [of 1592] are still current in South Africa" (Theal, *Ethnography of South Africa*, p. 354).

Mr. Bent (p. 296) alludes to a very common tradition prevailing among the Ma-Karanga, which is to the effect that very many generations ago, in the days of their ancestors, white men arrived and built houses in Mazoe, Umtali, and Manica. This tradition, so far as the Mazoe district is concerned, must be three or four hundred years old.

Traditions of Cannibalism and Slave Trade.

The cannibalism of the northern raiding tribes of Bantu described in the Portuguese records (1505-1760) is evidently not altogether forgotten by the present Ma-Karanga. The records show that the Ma-Karanga were not cannibals. The present Ma-Karanga state that cannibalism was, at some time beyond their recollection, a feature of certain tribes with which they had formerly been in contact. They use the epithet "cannibal" to denote their abhorrence of any particular tribe, though such may not be cannibals. The old war threats to "eat up" any tribe, and their cries, "Flesh, Flesh!" which still survive, have come down from some time when cannibalism was practised. In their present songs their great ancestors are stated to have "eaten up" certain tribes. The author of *The Bantu of the Tenth Century* states, "Cannibalism is not generally characteristic of the Bantu race, or at all events of the eastern tribes. . . . Among the Mashona, the Makololo, and the Basuto, it was caused by scarcity, and discontinued when better times returned. Careful inquiries fail to discover any cannibalistic tribe in Zambesia later

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than the Muzimbas of the sixteenth century, who are described in the records as cannibals by practice.

The devastation of whole territories in Zambesia by slave-trading conducted by white men is described by Dr. Livingstone as still discernible. This slave trade was commenced by the Portuguese in 1645, and was carried on by them until 1760, when their power inland became broken, during which period slaves were exported to the Brazils and other Portuguese colonies. The Ma-Karanga still have some dim and indefinite recollections or tradition of the raidings by white men (not Moors) for slaves, who, they state, were taken from the country by "birds with white wings coming out of the sky," the usual native expression for ships.

Traditional Feuds.

Bantu and Abutua (Bushmen) have from pre-historic times always been at deadly feud, and still are to-day, with the exception of in Bechuanaland, where the two races have in the course of ages become to some extent fused. All the merciless and bloodthirsty passions of the Bantu are immediately aroused at the mere sight of even one unhappy outcast Bushman, who in the course of his wanderings passes in the vicinity of a Bantu kraal. The eager and irrepressible determination to exterminate that "wild beast"—for Bushmen to the Bantu mind are still but "wild beasts," just as hundreds of years ago they were considered to be "wild beasts" and legitimate objects of prey—is so strong that even long years of association with missionaries and other civilising agencies cannot eradicate it. Start the cry of "Bushman!" and immediately a whole countryside will be out on his spoor, and the unfortunate man has actually to fly for his very life. In the snap of one's finger the dormant savagery is rekindled, and they will have lost for the time all the good effects of generations of civilising influences. This is an experience of to-day vouched for in several quarters, and in two instances within the writer's own knowledge. This traditional hatred, which is manifested only towards the Bushman, who were,

TRADITIONS OF 'SIBOKO'

so Bantu most religiously believe, "created with the wild beasts," has survived through a decade of centuries ever since the southward march of the Bantu pressed the Bushman out of his own territories.

But there are also innumerable instances, stated in works on South Africa, and dealt with by Government inquiries, of traditional inter-tribal feuds alive to this day, which originated at least several generations since, the originating causes of which are still well-known. As a slight illustration, the active feud between the Amangwa of Nini country and the Ma-Karanga of Zimbabwe district is much over a hundred years old ; how much older no one knows, yet the details as to its origin are subjects of ordinary conversation.

Traditional claims to certain territories are frequently met with, and some of these claims are of very considerable age, and can be tested by philologists who have examined into the nomenclature of the topographical features of those districts.

Traditions of "Siboko."

Native traditions of *siboko* and mythology cover unbroken centuries of time, and a study of the traditional totemism and of comparative mythology, as shown in several standard works on the Bantu, indicates that the traditions not only possessed a common origin, but they have endured by many centuries, though of course they have become varied to some extent in the process of narration during very long periods of time. The *siboko*, the emblematic sign of their remote forefathers, and on which each tribe still prides itself, is most religiously preserved by all Bantu tribes.

Traditions as to Topographical Features.

Stow and other writers mention Bechuana traditions as to great lakes on the western side of South Africa, which geological evidence supports, and to vast forests which have now disappeared. The Kalahari contains numerous sites of old lakes of great size now dried up, and it is intersected by large river-beds in which no water has passed for centuries, bearing evidence, as does the flora, to heavy and

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regular rains now unknown, to vast forests which have now disappeared, and to a general humidity in some past times. The traces of these features have been pointed out by all travellers. Dr. Livingstone said these rivers and lakes had dried up "at no very ancient date," while Dr. Moffat and other writers refer to great areas in these regions which are covered with the remains of trees in a state of silicification approaching fossilisation.

This process of drying up is still noticeable, for it is within the memory of white men that Lake Ngami has ceased to be a lake.

Traditions as to topographical features are perhaps the most numerous instances of the traditions stated in standard works on South Africa. "The wall of God," in the Matoppas, is but an instance, while ranges of hills, peculiarly shaped rocks, natural obelisks, certain caves, rivers, and waterfalls in Rhodesia, Transvaal, Natal, and Cape Colony are subjects of tradition which must certainly be several centuries old. Stow instances the traditions concerning the Gariep River Falls as being several centuries old. Certain traditions as to topographical features are stated later.

Traditions as to Tribal Relationships.

There are also numerous traditions among the Bantu as to the relationship and common origin of certain tribes speaking different dialects of the same language, and also languages with distinct vocabularies and rules of grammar. For instance, the Ba-Rosie, which at some very remote period must have been in close contact with the Ma-Karanga in country north of the Zambesi, if not in Nyassaland, in the course of their migrations became widely separated from the Ma-Karanga, and in the meantime came in contact with Zulu people. Their dialects and vocabularies became so varied that on their coming in contact again it was difficult, and still remains difficult, if not almost impossible, for the people of the Ba-Rosie and the Ma-Karanga to understand one another. Yet the relationship of centuries past is claimed by both, and is evidenced by philological examination.

TRADITIONS 400 YEARS OLD

Traditions exist that certain tribes now of no significance were very many generations ago of great power and influence, and ruled tributary tribes, and which modern research, and the recently-discovered records (1505-1760), as well as the history of the early settlers at the Cape, amply confirm. These traditions as to superiority of blood are further proved by affinity or variation of language or dialect, and by similarity or otherwise of national and tribal customs and practices.

Certain old traditions as to former locations of tribes and their migrations are borne out by their present positions and relations. Thus it is seen by the place-names in territories which are derived from the languages of such tribes, which they still bear, notwithstanding such tribes have not occupied those territories for two or three or more centuries. Other traditions still existing as to the Maconi, Macota, Macumba(o), and Chitoro dynasties in the country of the *Monomotapa*, are verified in the Portuguese records, and are to-day found in the dynastic chiefdoms of Makoni, Matoko, Mokumbi, and Chitoro, occupying respectively the same territories as mentioned almost four hundred years ago.

Abutua (Bushmen's country), a territory described in the earliest records of the sixteenth century, is still in possession of its old name, which appears on all recent maps, though the people from whom it had derived its name had ceased to occupy it long before 1505, the numerous Bushmen's paintings found in that territory being exceedingly old.¹ Further, Moffat's *People of the Plain* had lived in mountain ranges for many generations; while the Ma-Lembo, who are still known as "The Mountaineers," six generations ago, when they migrated south, lived in the mountains of Southern Mashonaland (Beuster and Gottschling).

The names of other tribes were used as names for north,

¹ It is most remarkable that the Ma-Karanga should credit the Bushmen with these paintings, which must be almost a thousand years old, if not older, and yet they have no tradition as to Zimbabwe and the older type of ruins.

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south, east, and west by other tribes, and the names of those tribes still denote those points of the compass, though such tribes have since migrated to other parts of the country, just as in 1590 Dos Santos stated, "The sailors in navigating [the Zambesi] direct their course by these two names [Bororo on the north bank and Botonga on the south bank], steering now to Bororo and now to Botonga, as in large ships they steer to larboard or to starboard" (VII, 255). This practice has prevailed for almost five hundred years, Sir Richard Burton stating, "The boatmen of the Lower Zambesi use Bororo and Ba-Tonga to express north and south." But who can say where these two peoples are to-day? Sir R. Burton further states that the name Usukuma (a certain tribe) is employed to express the north.

The author of *The Bantu of the Tenth Century* states that "it was the belief of Mr. Henry F. Fynn, who had twenty-eight years' (1824-1852) acquaintance with the Zulus and Kafirs when they had still all their tribal traditions fresh and unaffected by European intercourse, that the Kafir tribes on the frontier and the Zulus were all of one nation, that four or five centuries ago they were driven from the region of Sofala, and those now known as the colonial frontier Kafirs were probably the first who appeared in this direction." This tradition is amply confirmed by the recently-discovered records of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The native tradition as to *Embo*—the native name for Natal—must be far more than three hundred years old, and survives to-day. Dr. Theal states that it is not mere tradition, but actual history confirmed by the records of the first European settlers.

A further instance of an Embo tradition can be cited. A section of the Ma-Karanga, according to the records, moved south to Embo (Natal) in the seventeenth century. But before the records were rediscovered and no information being obtainable from historic documents, Bantu authorities had stated that the Ma-Karanga had penetrated to Natal during the seventeenth century. This information was obtained from several sources, native tradition three or

A BA-WENDA TRADITION

four hundred years old, and from philological and ethnological features still discernible, all which evidences were later found to be most amply confirmed by the subsequently rediscovered records. In this instance, Father Torrend, now at least twenty years ago, and even earlier writers, showed that the influence of the old Ma-Karanga intrusion into Natal survived and could be traced. This can be demonstrated to-day. Possibly this influence, which has lasted for almost four hundred years, is owing to the superior intelligence of the Ma-Karanga. Evidently the Bantu authorities, who years ago claimed that the tradition was almost four hundred years old, had "their faces to the light," especially as they wrote at different times and from separate localities.

A Ba-Wenda Tradition.

A tradition exists among the Ba-Wenda that over six generations ago, and how much earlier cannot be gathered, the Ma-Karanga paid tribute to the Ba-Wenda. This tribute took the form of carrying stone blocks from the ruins of Zimbabwe to south of the Zoutpansberg mountain range in the Transvaal, where very rude stone buildings were erected at the capital of the Ba-Wenda chief (in Marico). As the Ba-Wenda once occupied in Mashonaland this tradition may explain the poorly-built stone walls of cattle-pounds of the Ba-Wenda which are to be found in the present Ba-Wenda district. This tradition is more than six generations old (Grant, and also Gottschling).

Inhambane Traditions.

The Rev. E. H. Richards, who has spent twenty-five years in the Inhambane country of Portuguese South-east Africa, and who has translated the Scriptures into the local languages, informs the author that very fresh tradition as to the arrivals of the different peoples on this territory exists to this day. This he had ascertained long before the Portuguese Records, which give an account of such migrations and settlements, had been rediscovered by Dr. Theal. The details of such tribal movements of Ma-Karanga

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and Ba-Tonga of the Inhambane country given in Vol. II of the Records, especially by Father Fernandes (June 24, 1560) who laboured among them, prove that these traditions are three hundred and fifty years old (see *Otongwe*, in *Gazetteer* later). It will be remembered that Father Torrend, some forty years ago, obtained identical information as to these particular traditions, and found ample confirmation of their value on philological and ethnological considerations long prior to the discovery of the Records (see Introduction, Torrend's *Comparative Grammar of Bantu Languages*).

Mr. Richards further states that the Inhambane natives are very conservative in the matter of their traditions, so much so that these traditions which are already over three hundred and fifty years old, will endure for generations yet to come. The chiefs in these territories, he states, make a great point of themselves instructing their grandsons (of the Right Bower) in the old traditions of their people. Other writers, elsewhere in South Africa, have stated that the chiefs of other tribes also personally educate their grandsons (of the Right Bower) in tribal traditions, and the choice of a successor has been known to fall to the son or the younger brother most proficient as tribal antiquary.

Traditional Tales.

Dr. Theal, the author of *Kafir Folklore, or a Selection from Traditional Tales*, states, "The traditional tales [of the Bantu] must have come down from a very remote period, as they are found with little variation among different tribes that could have had no intercourse for many centuries."

Numerous essays have within the last forty years been written on Kafir traditions, legends, folklore, and proverbs of different tribes, and much information on these subjects is to be found in the old journals and magazines of the Cape and Natal colonies. Some of the proverbs introduce the names of chiefs and tribes which must be almost two if not three hundred years old, if not far older. Many of the traditions still extant can be verified by the oldest records in the archives of the various African colonies.

VIOLATION OF TRADITIONS

Native Value of Tradition.

The only subjects of Bantu tradition and saga are connected with racial and dynastic pride arising from prolonged and unbroken dynasties, victorious history, and the conquest of neighbouring tribes. The African never chants of defeats, or of his tribe's disruption and slavery.

Night after night to this day round their fires will the "boys" of Makoni, Macombi, and Matoko—present Ma-Karanga dynasties alluded to in the records of 1560—talk and sing of the valour of their ancestral chiefs and people, and little will the ordinary visitor, making but a few weeks' stay in the country, imagine that his porters and labourers of these tribes are recounting, though in somewhat hazy and vague form, the glories of their dynasties which history proves to have existed as powerful clans, with the same titles and in the identical localities, almost five hundred years ago. Yet these same "boys" too are Ma-Karanga. They converse round their fires in identically the same Chicaranga language of which Dos Santos gives the vocabulary. Their mountains, rivers, trees, animals, birds, household utensils all bear exactly the same names as they bore five hundred years ago, and they still tenaciously hold the same traditions concerning their ancestors as are described in detail by the earliest of the Dominican pioneers of the sixteenth century.

Among the Bantu peoples tribes are distinguished as either possessing tradition or as possessing none. In expressing their contempt for other tribes they charge them with having no tradition. This is a usual form of derision. Absence of tribal tradition is an evidence of serfdom. For instance, in the *Chant to Dingan* (Arbousset, p. 242)—

These gross Basutos are numerous !
Multitudes of petty tribes,
Which know not whence they have come !

Violation of Tradition.

The tenacity with which the traditions concerning the tribal ancestry are still preserved is remarkable. The efficacy of sacrifices to departed ancestors (*muzimos*), and the

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value of the oaths sworn on their actual names, depended and still depends on the due preservation of the names of their successive chiefs for generations. "From birth to death they are haunted by the ghosts of their ancestors" (Gottschling). "Even converts at mission stations cannot be got to reveal the facts of what occurs in the [initiation] lodges" (Wheelwright). "At an earlier period in history it is beyond all doubt that any person giving away the oaths they took in the lodges was killed as a punishment. This cannot be done now, but the fact is not hidden that they are impeached in some way which acts as a deterrent, keeping the people to whatever oaths they may have taken" (*ibid.*). At these ceremonies "the young people are shown all the sacred things of the tribe, which, however, they are forbidden under heavy penalty to disclose to any outsider." "They are taught to be true to their ancestors" (Gottschling). Rezende in 1600 wrote, "Any secret which they are commanded to keep, although it be a public matter, not one will be found to reveal" (II, 416).

Other Ma-Karanga Traditions.

The Ma-Karanga possess traditions as to *Chirambô-gupostwa* (Chicaranga—"refuses to be crossed," i. e. "forbidden to be crossed"), and also of *Môwîshawasha* (a word associated with power or authority). These traditions, and especially the latter, must be of very great age. The former relates to certain places, mainly forests or woods, which no native will cross even in daytime, for they say, as the name implies, "it is forbidden to be crossed or walked over." There are at least four of these localities in Southern Mashonaland, and the Ma-Karanga say there are others. In all districts the natives have for generations regarded such localities as haunted, and state that their great-great-grandfathers also regarded them as haunted. The reasons given for preserving this tradition are practically identical, and contain no suggestion of fear or dread of such places, but rather of some old religious observance.

OTHER KARANGA TRADITIONS

The *Mowishawasha* traditions relate to certain hills,¹ and such venerated hills are numerous. These hills, or the tradition concerning them, are not connected with ruins, though on one of them there are remains of foundations of walls. No native will point a finger at such hills, nor are they now ascended except on very rare occasions, and for some purpose not known to white men. In passing the hills the natives will at intervals squat down and clap hands, the usual mode of salutation. When natives do make the ascent it is with fear, and for white men only on substantial presents being made them, and such natives must not have had sexual intercourse just previously, or have been otherwise "unclean." When they have been induced to make the ascent they will be exceedingly quiet for days afterwards, and it will be some time before they recover their usual liveliness. These hills are said to be the burial-places of chiefs of great importance, but so old that merely the veneration of such places remains. They readily say the burials took place *mazana* (hundreds of years or "seed-times") ago, and seeing that the names of these hills have since become the names of extensive districts in which they are located, and were so bestowed at some time altogether beyond the recollection of any present natives, the traditions concerning them must be exceedingly old.

But in the *Records of South-eastern Africa* (1505-1760) we read that, five hundred years ago, "Every year in the month of September, when the new moon appears, Quiteve, [the king] ascends on a very high hill [Magoma], on the summit of which he performs grand obsequies for the kings, his predecessors, who are all buried there" (VII, 196). "Magoma, where is the burial-place of the kings and queens of Quiteve." The successors "make a visit to the cave to see the bones of the former kings" (VII, 382). The people of the Quiteve were Ma-Karanga. The records contain similar references to other hills where "ancient

¹ The author has recently published a monograph on *The Venerated Hills of Mashonaland*, from which it is abundantly clear that certain traditions relating to such hills are at least three to four hundred years old. (*The African Monthly*, Dec. 1908, Grahamstown C. C.).

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monomotapas [kings]" or other paramount chiefs of the Ma-Karanga were buried, and where obsequies to ancestors were performed.

The tradition of "The Lord of the Tomb" mentioned by Lacerda is still very well known to the Ma-Karanga, and must be several centuries old. The tradition of the Ma-Karanga as to Mondoro, mentioned in the sixteenth century (VII, 208, 226), is a standing tradition to-day. It is believed to have been referred to by Massoude (915 A.D.), and the Persian and Arab writers of the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Longevity of Bantu.

It must also be borne in mind that the average longevity of the Bantu is much greater than that of Europeans. Dos Santos (1590) was perfectly correct in stating, "It is common among these Kafirs to live to ninety and one hundred years of age" (VII, 289). It is almost impossible to go into any native kraal without being able to meet people who can describe events which took place eighty years ago, and of which they were eye-witnesses. In most kraals there are to be found old men—tribal antiquaries—who pride themselves on having always taken a keen interest in the history of their tribe. Thus Native Commissioners and missionaries report that there are living in Mashonaland Ma-Karanga and Ba-Rosie who until 1836 lived in Matabeleland, and that these can not only describe as eye-witnesses events in that country previously to the arrival of the Matabele, but can give the derivation and meaning of the old Ma-Karanga (M'Holi, Makalaka) nomenclature of the topographical features of the present Matabeleland at a time before the Matabele arrived, and perverted, distorted or abandoned such place-names. Constant repetition of these events in the village *kotla*, where the youth of the place listen attentively to the discussions of their elders, has educated the local peoples to such an extent that the boys and little lads of to-day are perfectly well acquainted with ordinary incidents which took place eighty years ago.

NO TRADITION AS TO ZIMBABWE

Dr. Theal and other authorities on the Bantu emphatically state that the ordinary Kafir knows far more concerning his own immediate ancestors than an average educated European knows concerning his.

Ma-Karanga Faculty of Calculation.

The Ma-Karanga, with their larger brain and higher intelligence, are notorious among the Bantu peoples for their faculty of calculation. This superior intelligence is explained by their having come in contact, certainly not within the last few centuries, with people of Semitic and Indian races, from whom they have received certain impressions, which are dealt with in Chapter XIV, *The Ma-Karanga*. They will instantly and without the slightest hesitation speak of so many hundreds (*manzana*), whether it be of "seed-times" (years), animals in flocks and herds, or the age of elephants, which they place at three hundred years, or of baobab trees, to which they ascribe even a much greater age.

Dr. Theal shows that acknowledged Bantu antiquaries, who have approached the study of native tradition with scientific method, claim that tradition goes back as to matters of general tribal custom and of legal requirements to the seventh generation, that traditions of one hundred and fifty to two hundred years are common, and that certain traditions as to leading events are far more than two hundred years old, while many traditional legends are inconceivably old. Such authorities as Sir Theophilus Shepstone, Dr. Bleek, Charles Brownlee, J. C. Warner, Dr. Nicholson, H. H. Dugmore, and a score of other competent writers cannot be ignored.

Tradition and Ruins.

The Ma-Karanga, who have occupied Mashonaland, Matabeleland, and the immediate hinterland of Sofala for the best part of a thousand years, have no tradition or even legend as to the erection of the Zimbabwe Temple and its associated ruins, except they say the Temple was

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built by the devil, just as their ancestors of more than five hundred years ago stated that the Temple was erected by the devil. De Barros (VI, 267, 268) states, "When or by whom these edifices were raised, as the people of the land are ignorant of the art of writing, there is no record, but they say they are the work of the devil, for in comparison with their power and knowledge it does not seem possible for them that they should be the work of man." He adds, "*The people being barbarians, all their houses are of wood.*" This refers to the report of the Sofala Moors, who dealt with some indefinite time prior to 1505, and how long before that date no one knows.

Nor is it at all probable that the natives of that time possessed any tradition or even legend as to the erection of Zimbabwe, for we find that in 1560 they informed the Portuguese that "all the *monomotapas* [kings] are buried there [Beza ruins—not Zimbabwe], and it serves them for a cemetery" (III, 356). This at any rate proves, that before the arrival of the Portuguese in 1505, some generations of *monomotapas* had been buried in the Beza ruins long after the buildings had ceased to serve their original purpose, and had been abandoned by their builders and occupiers. Also in 1560 the Fura ruins were described by the Portuguese as "fragments of old walls and ancient ruins of stones" (VII, 275). Two other ruins are mentioned, but in all the instances the natives prior to 1505, and to 1560, are said to have possessed no tradition or legend whatever as to the erection of the buildings. The erection of these enormous structures must have covered many years, and have involved the employment of labour to an inconceivable extent. Their construction must have proved a *leading event* of very considerable importance, and at some juncture of the history of a people which could not have been wholly forgotten had they been erected even two or three hundred years earlier than the earliest time claimed by Professor Maciver, viz. "not earlier than the fourteenth or fifteenth century A.D.," or "not earlier than 1400, 1500 A.D., and possibly later."

'THE PLAINS OF THE ANCIENTS'

"Ancient," "Ancients," "Antiquity."

The Ma-Karanga also state that the ruins were built "when stones were soft," and "when days were misty." These are among the Chicaranga expressions for a very remote antiquity. But they also declare the ruins were not built by their ancestors, but by "the ancients" (*Bantorontoro*; the repetition of *toro* being a form of emphasis), that they are "very ancient" (*Karekare*), and that they were built in some period of "antiquity" (*Bukuru*), all of which words are in their ordinary everyday vocabulary, being also applied to the ancient gold mines on the rock. Every Karanga will assert that at some long, long past time the country was occupied by *Bantorontoro* ("very ancient people") who were responsible for both ruins and mines on the rock. They have no possible idea as to what people the *Bantorontoro* were, except that they were not Ma-Karanga.

De Barros states (VI, 267) that the mines of Toróa were "the most ancient known in the country." But Toróa is merely the Chicaranga word for "ancient," and thus we find that in 1560 the natives called the district in which were these mines, and also Zimbabwe, "Ancient," and they had no other name for them. Other writers speak of Zimbabwe being "in the plains of Toro or Toróa"—meaning "The Ancient Plains," or "The Plains of the Ancients." But the most remarkable feature is that in 1600 Alvarez states: "Here in Toróa are till this day remaining manie huge and *ancient* buildings. . . . Here is also a mighty wall," etc. This undoubtedly further shows that the Ma-Karanga of before 1600 had no name for these ruins (evidently Zimbabwe) or for the district containing the most ancient of the Rhodesian rock mines other than that of Toróa or "Ancient."

Dr. Livingstone and Native Tradition.

Dr. Livingstone states definitely that native tradition covers three hundred years (*Missionary Travels*, p. 190), and later (p. 425) adds, "Their quick perception of events recognisable by the senses, and retentiveness of memory,

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suggests [referring to certain boulder formation] that there have been no earthquakes for at least the last two centuries."

Authorities on Tradition not Exhausted.

But in stating a few traditions of the Bantu as above, the authorities on this subject are by no means exhausted. Dr. Livingstone gives particulars as to other traditions, some relating to the Portuguese occupation of 1505-1760, while the works of Dr. Moffat, Stow, Arbousset, Casalis, Chapman, Dr. Colenso (of Natal), Dr. Callaway (Bishop of Kaffaria), Dr. Bleek, Dr. Theal, and two-score of other writers of recognised authority on the Bantu, abound with information as to native traditions. So also do the published reports of the Native Departments of the various South African Governments, and the reports of commissions of Bantu experts appointed to inquire into the conditions, laws, and customs of native peoples. These official reports are matters of public record, and are to be found in the archives of the different colonies of South Africa.

Conclusions.

It is therefore obvious that, apart from the historical and archæological evidences which distinctly controvert Professor Maciver's conjecture as to the dating of the Zimbabwe Temple, the whole weight of the ethnological evidences derived from authenticated native traditions, are altogether opposed to the acceptance of his conclusions as to the dating of the Temple.

The Moors informed the Portuguese in 1505 that at some altogether indefinite time previously, that is, at some time between the eleventh century and 1505, certain Moors had visited the Temple, and had seen the inscription (the chevron pattern), and the tower. They pronounced the Temple to be "very ancient," and believed the local "barbarians" had nothing to do with its construction. The original occupiers of the Temple, who, it is admitted, must have occupied the building for some centuries at least, were altogether un-

IMPOSSIBLE DATINGS OF TEMPLE

known. It was further stated that the natives possessed no tradition or legend whatever as to the people who had erected it. Nor were the Moors aware of the wealth of gold and of the phallic emblems buried on its floors. Nor of the large stone vulture birds on tall pillars, for all these must then have already become buried by the débris of the subsequent squatters, who knew absolutely nothing either of the builders or of the original occupiers of the Temple, or of the existence of the gold and emblems on the lowest floors.

If, therefore, at some altogether indefinite time prior to 1505 the natives, who according to the records must have been Ma-Karanga, possessed no single shred of tradition or even of traditional legend as to either the builders or the original occupiers, and who ascribed its erection to "the work of the devil," it is perfectly clear that, to employ Professor Maciver's own expression, his main conclusions as to the date of the erection of the Temple "can be pilloried at once."

These conclusions were as follows—

(1) "The date of the Temple was not earlier than 1400, 1500 A.D., and possibly later" (*R. G. S. Journal*, April 1906, p. 334).

(2) "The date of the Elliptical Temple was not earlier than the fourteenth or fifteenth century" (*M. R.*, 63, 64).

(3) "The importance of Zimbabwe seems to centre round the beginning of the sixteenth century A.D. The earliest possible date for any of its building is two centuries before this" (*M. R.*, 85).

Even were a present of two earlier centuries to be added to Professor Maciver's very earliest date for the erection of the Temple, still this would be insufficient to cover the erection, occupation, abandonment, and absolute oblivion before the Moors saw the ruins and pronounced them to be "very ancient." The "barbarians" knew nothing of their origin.

Thus the Magadoxo Arab trade was not responsible for the "existence" of the Temple, nor was the zenith of Zimbabwe's importance in the sixteenth century!

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The trade of the Magadodoxo Arabs was preceded by the trade in gold and ivory of "the merchants of Omar and Syraf" with the Sofala coast by almost two hundred years. The trade with Arabia and Persia was, it is believed, but a survival of trade in gold which had been carried on with these auriferous regions from time immemorial (see p. 67).

However, the records clearly show that in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and even in remote traditional times earlier, the centre of the gold trade of Mocaranga was at Masapa, where the *monomotapas* resided, 350 miles (563·26 K.) to the north-west of Zimbabwe; while there is not a single reference in the Portuguese records, or in the writings of the Persian and Arab historians of from the tenth to the fourteenth century, who describe the gold trade and people of Sofala, to any trade at Zimbabwe, or even within the kingdom of Sabia in which Zimbabwe was situated.¹

A Rhinoceros Myth: Startling Inconsistency.

But Professor Maciver himself quotes what he terms "a native story" to explain the origin of the terraced walls on the Inyanga mountains, and of this tradition he states (*M. R.*, 91), "*I am inclined to think that this story may be genuine.*" But he himself has already told us that the Inyanga ruins are "the oldest remains in the country" (*M. R.*, 80), that "they are older than the actual ruins of Great Zimbabwe" (*M. R.*, 87), and that "they date from two or three centuries preceding 1500 A.D." (*ibid.*). Therefore, Professor Maciver's Rhinoceros tradition must, on his own showing by his datings, be six hundred or seven hundred years old! yet he has most emphatically denied, without the slightest warrant, that native tradition extends in ordinary matters beyond one hundred and fifty years,

¹ Copies of this chapter, which appeared in article form in *The African Monthly*, were sent to all Native Commissioners, missionaries, and others known to be engaged in ethnological research in various parts of South Africa. The replies were unanimous in stating that the authenticated traditions of the natives make the acceptance of Professor Maciver's conclusions, both as to native traditions and the dating of the Temple, absolutely impossible.

A RHINOCEROS MYTH

and that even concerning leading and special events it does not extend to three hundred years !

This "native story," he states, "is to the effect that the natives at one time were greatly troubled with rhinoceroses which raided their grain-gardens and destroyed their crops. The natives therefore took to the hills [Inyanga], and by making a series of terraces [at 6000 ft. to 7000 ft. above sea-level!] were enabled to keep off the rhinoceroses and to cultivate the hillsides. When the Portuguese came into the country [two hundred years afterwards!] and supplied them with guns the Kaffirs (*sic*) were able to cope with the rhinoceroses and ultimately [two hundred years subsequently] to return and cultivate the flat ground" (*M.R.*, 91).

Yet, he states, "*I am inclined to think that this story may be genuine!*" But Rhodesian naturalists and sportsmen consider Professor Maciver's mountain-climbing rhinoceroses must have belonged to a species now extinct, or that these rhinoceroses at 5500 ft. to over 7000 ft. above sea-level anywhere in Africa, in herds big enough to attack, besiege, and keep at bay for two hundred years the warlike nation of Ba-Tonga, whom the Portuguese on their arrival found to be occupying Inyanga, must surely have been but the creatures of a night-mare. But can these rhinoceroses be credited with being the innocent cause of the origin of the arts of building in dressed-stone, and of rock-mining, or of the Zimbabwe ceremonial? This is the logical sequence of Professor Maciver's argument: that all the Zimbabwe culture first originated at Inyanga. But the rhinoceros myth which Professor Maciver says, "*I am inclined to think may be genuine,*" may be allowed to die a natural death. Still, it has provided South Africans with no small amount of genuine entertainment.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL

EX ORIENTE LUX!

CHAPTER VI

SOME PRELIMINARY NOTES ON RHODESIAN ARCHÆOLOGY

(A) *The Archæologist alone cannot solve the Rhodesian Problem.*

JUDGING from Professor Maciver's work and certain of the reviews written upon it, it would appear that in some quarters there exists an opinion that the dating of the erection of the Zimbabwe Temple, or at any rate of such buildings which may ultimately be found to be the oldest in Rhodesia, solves the Rhodesian problem—in effect, that Zimbabwe, or such oldest building, was contemporary with the oldest rock-mining operations, or dated the first intrusion of Asiatic influences in these regions.

If it were demonstrated that rock-mining and stone-building were introduced or initiated contemporaneously—and no single writer on the ruins and mines' question has ever made such a suggestion—then the archæologist, having determined the age of the Temple, would, perforce, have settled that also of the rock-mining operations. But such has never been demonstrated, while on the other hand all the available evidences point to a contrary conclusion.

It has always been contended by Mr. Telford Edwards, whose intimate knowledge of the ancient rock mines was exceptional, that certain of the mines were even older than the Zimbabwe Temple, and he was not alone in expressing this opinion, other mining experts, with extensive local knowledge of the old workings, having arrived on their own evidences at the same conclusion.

This opinion is based on four grounds—

(1) Mainly the evidences afforded by the mines themselves as to their great age, and the character of the mining

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operations, these being, in the opinion of mining engineers and also of authorities on the Bantu, beyond the skill of the altogether unaided Bantu;

(2) No imported article of the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries has ever been discovered in any rock mine anywhere throughout the country, except in the district of North Mazoe near the Zambesi, where, as is shown in Chapter II, *Portuguese did not Mine for Gold*, p. 53. The Portuguese attempted, as the records relate, to open out some few of the smaller rock mines, but finding them difficult to work very shortly afterwards abandoned them. There, and there only, is Nankin china to be found in profusion, as is described later (see *Nankin China, 1505-1760*, p. 251);

(3) The foreign demand for gold from ancient Rhodesia undoubtedly came from the east coast. The country was, as mining experts have shown (Chapter III, *Present Condition of Rock Mines*), mined area by area, until the operations extended inland 600 (965·58 K.) and 700 miles (1126·41 K.) from the east coast. It is most improbable that the Zimbabwe Temple at 250 miles (402·37 K.) from the coast, and Fura at 300 miles (482·79 K.), and Beza at over 400 miles (643·72 K.) from the coast, were erected until very long after the rock-mining operations had been in full swing in these more inland territories, which would not have been prospected until after the gold-bearing areas lying nearer the coast had been exploited;

(4) Gold, most obviously, was the great and only primary originating cause of the earliest pre-historic activities in Rhodesia, to the winning of which the main attention would naturally be devoted, building being but a secondary object, if any object at all. The rock mines but serve to explain the presence of building in stone as being a resultant phase of the former, and probably of a much later time, though the oldest of the buildings might very well have been, and possibly were, erected during the continuance of the rock-mining operations. *The Zimbabwe Temple, old as it is, no more determines the date of the first*

TEMPLE RESULTANT OF MINING

intrusion of Asiatic influence into these territories, than the cathedral at New York, now in course of erection, determines the date of the earliest intrusion of European influence on the North American Continent. In each instance the buildings are but a resultant phase of a far earlier intrusion of foreign influence. The striking divergences, specialisations, and individualities of the ruins further suggest that long periods must have elapsed between the erection of one class of building and the erection of the other types, and that such distinctive characteristics were not merely local or dynastic.

For these reasons it is impossible for the archæologist alone to determine the date of the earliest intrusion of foreign influence into Rhodesia. He can but determine the date of what is but a resultant phase of such an intrusion, the originating cause of which was undoubtedly the exploitation for gold. Thus the final solution of the problem as to the date of the commencement of the rock-mining operations still remains perfectly open and undetermined.

But it will be seen that even in his dating of the Zimbabwe Temple, and in his arrangement of the various specialised and individual types of buildings in a relative sequence of time, Professor Maciver's conclusions can be most seriously called in question.

(B) No "Natural Evolution" of Culture on the Part of the Altogether Unaided Bantu.

On perusing most carefully, and with the advantage of a ten years' first-hand knowledge of the Rhodesian buildings and mines, the descriptions of the various classes of ruins given by Professor Maciver and the conclusions he arrive at from his examination, I was at once firmly convinced that his confident claim as to the *equality* of the remains, especially his assignment of their relative ages, was the weak spot of many others in his archæological argument.

The vitiation of his entire case against there having been any foreign intrusion into Rhodesia earlier than some

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time in the eleventh century A.D., and for the "characteristically African" origin he claims for the buildings, and necessarily, according to his line of reasoning, for the rock mines, and for the form of ceremonial at Zimbabwe, and for the aqueduct remains of Inyanga, is brought about not because "there was something wrong with his diggings" (except with regard to certain somewhat important points at Zimbabwe and elsewhere, which are dealt with later), but by his associations of the various ruins, and his arrangement of these remains as to their sequence in time; and further by his connecting, but by inference only, the rock mines with a certain class of ruins which are claimed by him as the "prototypes" of the Zimbabwe Temple, which class of buildings can be satisfactorily shown not to have been erected until very long after the Zimbabwe Temple had been abandoned by its original occupiers, and after the rock-mining operations had ceased.

Having followed very minutely the detailed descriptions of the archæological features given by Professor Maciver, I must admit that, except in the case of the Zimbabwe Temple, a great many of these descriptions—as descriptions—are fairly accurate representations of the actual facts of such of the few of the obviously later built ruins covered by his limited and brief field-survey. It is his deductions that are challenged. But these descriptions do not carry us much further, as practically all this information was before us some years ago. So far he has but placed his seal to the correctness and value of the work of his predecessors. But it must not be forgotten that, as pointed out elsewhere, there are certain even of his descriptions and local "evidences," especially those relating to the Zimbabwe Temple, which will not stand a moment's examination.

It is when Professor Maciver proceeds to comparisons of ruins, and assigns to them their relative ages, that substantial reasons for not accepting his conclusions become apparent.

The claim put forward by Professor Maciver for the "natural evolution" of the Bantu (for the Bantu were

'SLOVENLY METHODS OF BUILDERS'

south of the Zambesi some centuries before the arrival on the coast of the Magadoxo Arabs in the eleventh century) in the art of building, of rock-mining, and also in the arts and industries as shown in the oldest form of relic, is a complete reversal of the actual circumstances, for instead of a "natural evolution" of culture there has been, since the earliest mines were sunk, and after the oldest buildings were erected, a considerable and rapid decline in culture until, as is further shown in the records, the culture only appeared in the sixteenth century in the form of the ordinary Bantu work of to-day.

For the reasons stated in the earlier chapters there can be no doubt that rock mines, buildings, relics, all evidence that the highest skill in any one of these departments was first displayed in this country in its already perfected state, and that from such period of its introduction and display—the pre-historic period of South-east Africa, which terminated before 915 A.D.—instead of evolution in culture there has been in progress a rapid decadence in culture. Thus the soil and sand-washing for gold by the Ma-Karanga of 1505–1760 succeeded the skilful rock-mining operations of the earliest people, the poorer buildings (showing "the slovenly methods of later builders," Professor Maciver's expression) were substituted for the buildings of the Zimbabwe Temple type, the art of irrigation passed into completest oblivion, and the form of ancient gold ornaments, carved stone-work and old religious emblem of an ornate character, if they survived at all, became only represented by iron, copper, and brass articles mentioned in the earliest of the Portuguese writings, and which are found to-day in any native kraal south of the Zambesi.

Therefore, it is contended, his archaeological conclusions and his dating and arrangement in age of the various types of ruins being based on a complete misapprehension of the actual facts, he having substituted evolution in culture for descent in a culture which was first introduced in an already perfected form, destroys the foundation on which his entire case rests. In other words, his working hypothesis is decidedly faulty.

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But this reversal being so diametrically opposed to all the local evidences it is not surprising that it creates a vast array of obstacles to the acceptance of his theory. In the attempt to establish his theory of the "natural evolution" of the unaided Bantu he consequently finds it necessary—

(1) To impose a limit on the activities of ancient peoples, and even to doubt their knowledge of the Sofala Sea, and this in face of the fact of the authenticated ancient activities at Zanzibar and Madagascar, and also that the study of Arabian and Phoenician enterprise outside the Red Sea is only now in its infancy ;

(2) To avoid Massoude's evidence as to the export trade in gold and ivory, which had in 915 A.D. been long established and which then still flourished, between the Sofala coast and Arabia, the ivory being transported to India and China, and which commerce might well, especially in view of the undoubted ancient activities displayed on the neighbouring Zanzibar coast and Madagascar, have been a continuance and survival of a trade with the Sofala region existing even prior to the commencement of the Christian era ;

(3) To credit the unaided and notoriously conservative Bantu, who has not changed in one single iota since the time when Massoude described him a thousand years ago, with initiating and evolving and finally displaying in colossal form a high skill in rock-mining and building of which there is not the slightest parallel, or even trace, to be found anywhere in Africa south of the Great Lakes, or among any other Bantu people ;

(4) To confine within a period of four hundred years, between some time in the eleventh century A.D. and the arrival of the Portuguese in 1505—a period which was contemporary with the disruption of the *monomotapan* "empire"—not only the initiation, "gradual evolution" of culture in four distinct arts, and the display in gigantic form over an area of 700 x 600 miles (1126 x 965 K.) of skill in rock-mining, building, irrigation, arts, by the Bantu, but also their final abandonment and utter oblivion till not a shred

'NATURAL EVOLUTION' NOT PROVED

of tradition or legend remained even before the close of that period;

(5) To account for the ceremonial at Zimbabwe with the associated conical tower, platform, phalli, "cup or ring," *linga*, carved stone vulture birds, and monoliths as the outcome of the natural working of the Bantu mind;

(6) To ignore the Semitic impressions observable in the physical appearance and in the customs of the Ma-Karanga (who were never a coast-board people), which latter every writer from David Livingstone down to the present day, and every Bantu authority, claim as being of pre-Koranic origin; and

(7) To cast about to find such ruins in Rhodesia which might be considered as illustrating "the natural evolution of building" which ultimately led up to the type of construction as exemplified by the Zimbabwe Temple. Unfortunately for his archæological conclusions he fixed upon the Inyanga ruins, with the Umtali ruins as the "valuable link" connecting Inyanga with Zimbabwe, both of which ruins, on a score of indisputable grounds, can be shown to belong to a much later date than that of the Zimbabwe Temple.

(8) He has altogether failed to point to one single ruin in Rhodesia in which, had his theory of natural evolution been well-founded, the alterations, repairs, or extensions, are of better workmanship than that of the original buildings.

Thus his conclusions must fail, for they contain within themselves, and on their face, the elements of their own reputation, and are lacking in essentials: a first-hand knowledge of the rock mines, buildings, and Bantu. Therefore, it is not to be wondered at that all past and present authorities on the Bantu, all modern mining experts, and those who have made a close study of the actual ruins, are to be found arrayed solidly against the acceptance of his main conclusions.

Finally, it is an altogether open question as to whether the Bantu were south of the Zambesi when the first rock mines were sunk.

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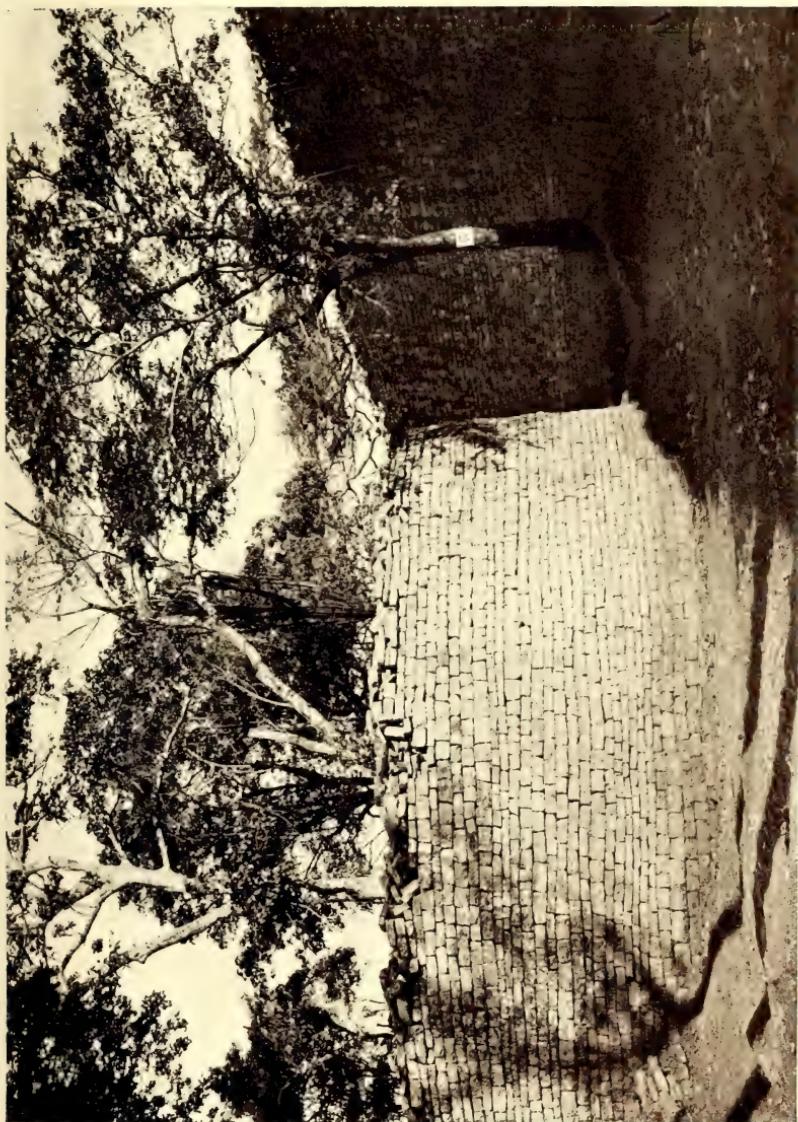
(C) An Alternative Hypothesis. The Direct Introduction of Culture by Foreign Influence brought about by Exploitation for Gold, the Display of Such Culture during the Rock-mining Period of Pre-historic Times, and its Gradual Decadence on the Withdrawal of Such Foreign Influence on the Cessation of the Rock-mining Operations.

In *The Ancient Ruins of Rhodesia* were advanced evidences that there had been three distinct periods in Rhodesia, i.e. (1) the rock-mining or pre-historic period ; (2) the soil and sand-washing or historic period, from Massoude's time (915 A.D.) to the close of the Portuguese records (1760) ; and (3) a late native (Ma-Karanga and Ba-Rosie) period, from 1750 down to within the last fifty years.

(1) **Pre-historic Period**, during which the rock mines were sunk over the whole of the mines' area, the skill in mining being introduced in its most perfected form, the pre-Koranic Semitic impressions seen in the Ma-Karanga having its originating cause in this period, the form of worship or ceremony as seen at Zimbabwe being introduced into this country. This period is marked by the general and individual use of a profusion of chaste gold ornaments and the absence of iron and copper ornaments, and the presence of the most artistic form of relic of the oldest type, *by the total absence in or at any of the ancient rock mines of Nankin china or any other imported articles of the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries* ; by the erection of the Zimbabwe Temple, and of certain other ruins of the Zimbabwe type, but not until after the rock-mining operations had been prosecuted for a considerable time and had gradually extended far into the interior. During this period the *mahobohobo*, Indian fig, vines, olives, Indian cotton, and other non-indigenous trees and plants which cover the entire mines' area were most probably introduced. This period, which is marked by the highest form of culture in all departments, mining, building, and arts and manufactures, may have been terminated by the arrival of the Bantu from the north, possibly about 800 A.D., these people being ignorant of

AN ORIGINAL WALL OF THE TEMPLE, ZIMBABWE.

To face p. 166.]



PERIODS IN RHODESIA

the value of gold, of the use of the phallic emblems, and of the arts of rock-mining and of building in stone.

(2) **Historic Period**, during which a most marked decadence in culture is demonstrated in mining, building, relics, and arts and manufactures, "mining" being represented by surface soil and river sand-washing, and nibbling at outcrops of reefs of gold, copper, and iron as described in the Portuguese records, such operations having been carried on by the natives for some centuries before the arrival of the Portuguese; no gold ornaments were worn, these having been replaced by those of iron, copper, and brass; the erection in the earlier portion of this period of the Inyanga structures—the hill-terraces and irrigation works (no Bantu people have ever been known to lead water) being attributable to either Zaide Arab or Magadoxo Arab influence; the erection of the obviously poorer and later buildings, crude copies of the older structures, which like Inyanga contain no gold, and no specimens of the older type of relic, and no phallic emblems, but native articles of a more superior make and design than those of to-day. The squatting at Zimbabwe and at the older ruins of low-class natives, who disregarded and blocked up the drainage arrangements elaborately laid out by the original builders, and filled in old enclosures to make platforms, and who knew nothing whatever of phalli or gold, and who buried the original floors to a depth of several feet with ordinary native débris though of an old type, which débris contained a few fragments of Nankin china and Arabic glass. These squatters rearranged some of the original divisional walls, and piled up walls of poor construction over the ruins and stone débris piles of older structures, and even over their own midden heaps.

(3) **Late Native Period**, extending from 1760 down to within the last fifty years, this period evidencing a still more marked decadence in culture, including the roughly-constructed stone walls of old Ma-Karanga villages of the Selous order, and the rudely piled-up stone ramparts of both Ma-Karanga and Ba-Rosie often found on hills, all of which contain articles as made by the natives of to-day.

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Professor Maciver claims he has "proved that the Rhodesian remains belong to one period only." In the following chapters it will be demonstrated that not only is there no evidence advanced by him in *Mediæval Rhodesia* for such an assertion, but on the contrary there are overwhelming evidences of a decidedly positive character that such periods existed, and that there is no "equality" of the remains.



A HILL FORT. LATE AND DECADENT BUILDING.
Kafirsation reached.

CHAPTER VII

PROFESSOR MACIVER'S THEORY OF THE RELATIVE AGES OF THE INYANGA AND UMTALI REMAINS AND THE ZIMBABWE TEMPLE EXAMINED

The Inyanga ruins are "the oldest remains in the country" (M.R. 86); "they are older than the actual ruins of Great Zimbabwe" (M.R. 87); they date from "two or three centuries preceding 1500 A.D." (M.R. 87); "they date from slightly before the Portuguese period [i.e. 1505]" (R.G.S. Journal, April 1906, p. 335).

The northern Inyanga, or Nani [Niekerk], ruins "are slightly earlier than the Umtali [ruins]" (M.R. 87); "two or three centuries preceding 1500 A.D.; and are older than the actual ruins of Great Zimbabwe" (M.R. 87).

The Umtali ruins form "a valuable link [in relative age and 'evolution of building'] between Inyanga and Zimbabwe"; they are "400 or 500 years old" (M.R. 86), and they "belong to the fifteenth century" (M.R. 87).

"*The date of the Elliptical Temple [at Zimbabwe] was not earlier than the fourteenth or fifteenth century*" (M.R. pp. 63, 64).

"*The date of the Temple was not earlier than 1400, 1500 A.D., and possibly even later*" (R.G.S. Journal, April 1906, p. 334).

The above theory of the relative ages of the Rhodesian remains, elaborated by Professor Maciver, has but to be stated, and its improbability, or rather its impossibility,

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is at once demonstrated. It is certainly a most plausible theory, so plausible that one possessing no knowledge concerning the country, the natives, the rock mines, and buildings, or of the history of the early Portuguese, and of the topographical features they describe, could well be excused for accepting offhand such conclusions. In fact, had I not possessed some local evidence to the contrary I would have been inclined to accept some such solution as Professor Maciver propounded. As I remarked at the Royal Geographical Society's debate on this subject, "I most thoroughly sympathised with those who, without any first-hand knowledge of the local evidences presented by the mines and ruins, or of the Bantu, or of the Portuguese records, championed his presentment of the case."

Conflicting and Inconsistent Datings.

But before proving that such a theory is on archæological grounds altogether incompatible with any respect for science and the logic of observed facts, it must be known that the conflicting and wholly inconsistent dates of the respective buildings which he himself claims directly negative his own theory. In fact, the bare statement of his datings contain all the elements of their own refutation.

The Umtali ruins, he states, "belong to the fifteenth century," they are "400 or 500 years old," they are, he claims, in their relative age and as illustrating "the gradual evolution of building a valuable link between Inyanga and Zimbabwe." But the date of Zimbabwe he has already stated to be "not earlier than the fourteenth or fifteenth century" (*M.R.* 63), thereby admitting Zimbabwe to be more than five hundred, if not six hundred years old, while he only allows for Umtali an age of "400 or 500 years." Therefore, according to Professor Maciver's own dates, his "prototype" ruins of Umtali were erected one hundred, if not two hundred years subsequently to the erection of the Zimbabwe Temple. Thus the Umtali ruins as "prototypes" of Zimbabwe, and as illustrating "the gradual evolution in building, a valuable link between Inyanga and Zimbabwe,"

INCONSISTENT DATINGS

must go, for on Professor Maciver's own showing the erection of the Umtali ruins was subsequent to that of the Zimbabwe Temple. Further, he states that the Umtali ruins "belong to the fifteenth century," but the records in 1552 state that at some altogether indefinite time before 1505, that is, at any time between the eleventh century and 1505, the Zimbabwe Temple was already "very ancient," and that the natives ("barbarians")—evidently subsequent squatters—"considered these [walls] to be the work of the devil, for in comparison with their power it did not seem possible for them that they should be the work of man" (VI, 267, 268). Here, again, on historical evidences, his datings of Umtali are utterly demolished.

Again, he claims the Inyanga ruins as being "the oldest remains in the country," and as "older than the actual ruins of Great Zimbabwe," their date being "two or three centuries preceding 1500 A.D. But he must have forgotten he had already stated (*R.G.S. Journal*, April 1906, p. 335) that the Inyanga ruins "*date from slightly before the Portuguese period (1500 A.D.)*,"¹ and when the Zimbabwe Temple was already, at some indefinite time previously, "very ancient," the Temple having been erected, so he states, "not earlier than the fourteenth or fifteenth century."

However, having by his datings swept away any intervening period between the erection of Inyanga and that of Zimbabwe, he proceeds to trace the progress of "the gradual evolution of building" by the unaided and conservative Bantu, from the crude structures of Inyanga till the splendidly massive features, complicated plan, and skilful construction of the Zimbabwe Temple are attained. Even were we to present his dating of Inyanga with a century or two, still on his own showing it is clear that there could have been no such "gradual evolution of building," for such an intervening period, on his own showing, never existed.

Therefore, the Inyanga ruins as "prototypes" of the

¹ The Portuguese arrived at Sofala in 1487, but did not take possession of the "village" of Sofala until 1505.

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Zimbabwe Temple must, on Professor Maciver's own statements as to dates, and also on the evidences in the records, and further, on the opinions of Bantu scholars as to Bantu "evolutions," but conclusively on the archæological grounds specified later, disappear as "prototype" ruins together with the Umtali ruins.

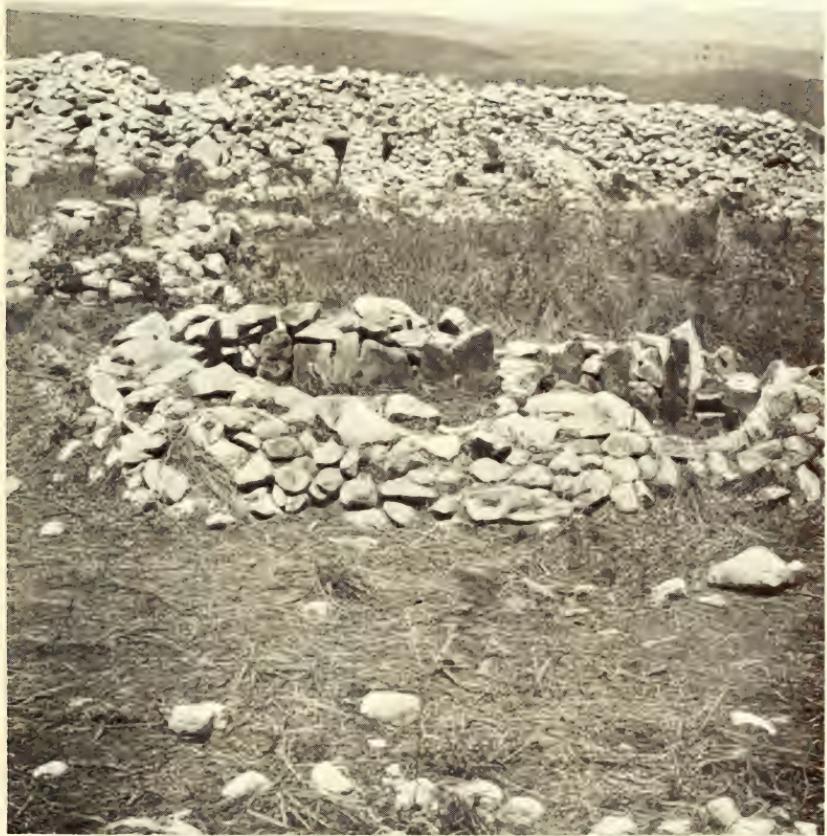
But accepting, just for argument, his earliest date for Inyanga and his latest possible date for the Zimbabwe Temple—which intervening period he has shown by his datings never existed—such a period could not possibly account or allow for the "gradual evolution of building" from Inyanga to Zimbabwe, or explain the divergences, specialisations, and the very striking individualities of the two types of buildings, nor could it satisfy Bantu authorities as to the evolution in culture on the part of the unaided native during such a limited period, a period which his own datings cited above sweep away.

Divergences in Construction.

We are informed that "Great Zimbabwe does not differ in any essential points from the more northern sites [Inyanga, Umtali]" (*R. G. S. Journal*, April 1906, also *M. R.* 84). Further, that "the Zimbabwe Temple has no point of superiority over several other ruins [Inyanga and Umtali being specified]," that "it is simply more massive," "with only a certain skill in piling up stones" (*ibid.* 333), and that "it is mainly distinguished only by its greater dimensions" (*M. R.* 69).

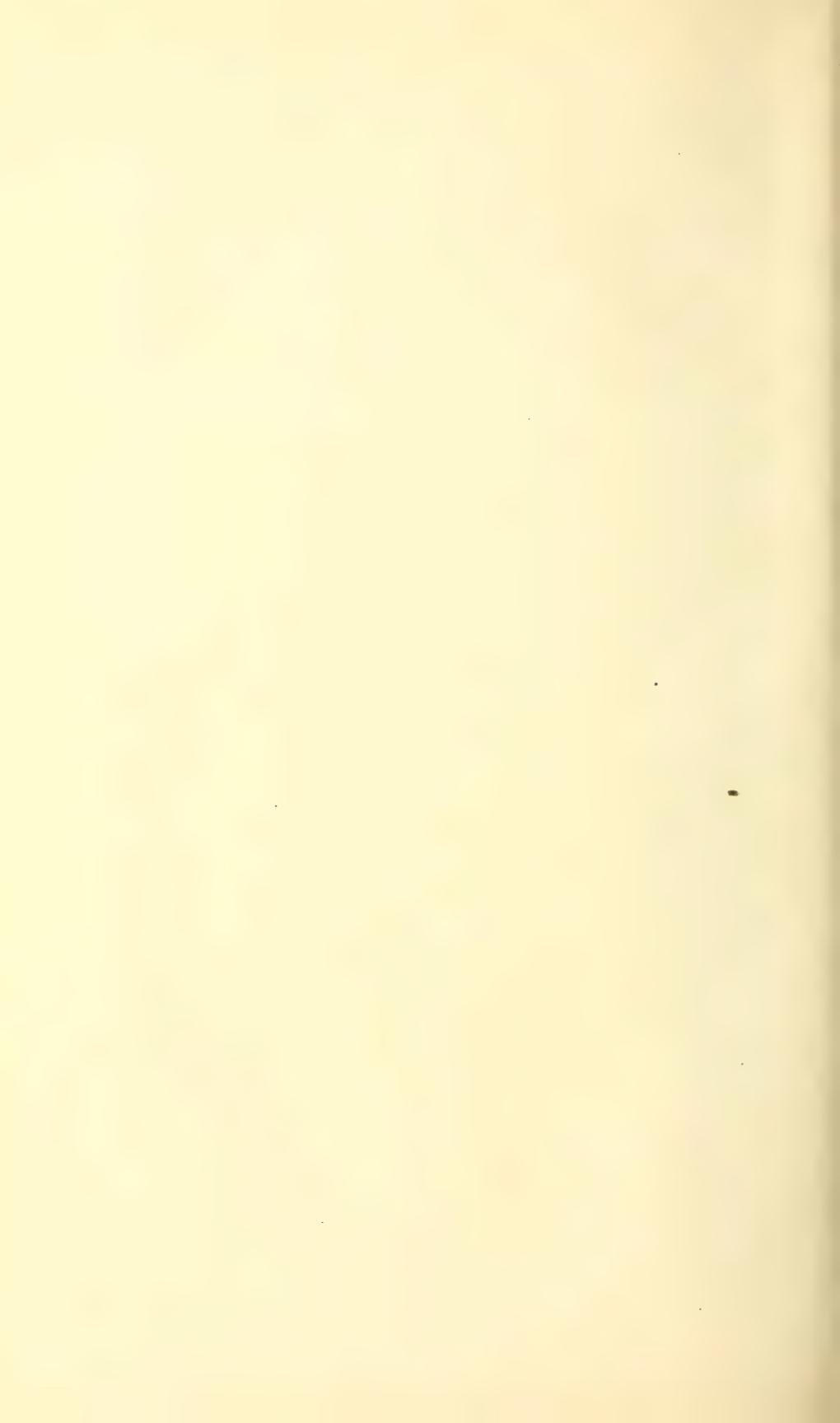
But the divergences which exist between the styles of construction of the buildings at Zimbabwe and Inyanga, and especially their respective specialisations and individualities, are overwhelmingly more obvious, and are far more important than any resemblances.

The Umtali features of construction are described by Professor Maciver as "rude walls of unhewn stone" (*M. R.* 3); "triangular stones had been freely used," "the exterior walls are quite unornamented" (*M. R.* 36); and they are described as "rough stone buildings" (*M. R.* 37). This is an accurate description of these ruins, but it evidences



REMAINS OF SIDES OF CIRCULAR HUTS, ALSO OF LATE AND DECADENT GIRDLE^WALL.
INYANGA.

To face p. 172.]



DIVERGENCES IN CONSTRUCTION

no previous "gradual evolution" of building from the "prototype" Inyanga style of construction.

The Inyanga features of construction are described as "carelessly constructed by large and small pieces of granite [slate, diorite, etc.?] piled one upon the other" (*M.R.* 4), as "most carelessly built and tumbledown construction," "most irregularly built" (*M.R.* 5), "in all the forts the outline of the wall is unsymmetrical" (*M.R.* 6), and there is "no uniform design" (*M.R.* 6). With this description all who have seen the ruins will also agree.

INYANGA AND UMTALI.

1. Not a single stone in any of the buildings has ever been dressed either with stone hammers or with metal tools. This is a feature of all native walls (rudely piled up ramparts of stone) to be found throughout the entire country and of no great age. No Bantu people are known to have dressed stone for building purposes.¹ The forts at Inyanga, Professor Maciver

ZIMBABWE TEMPLE.

1. Thousands of granite blocks used in the main walls have been neatly dressed both with metal tools and diorite hammers, the marks and measurements of the chisels as well as the starrings of the stone hammers being still discernible. The blocks in the rounded entrances, steps, buttresses, and ends of walls, and in conical towers, have been cut on their faces in rounded

¹ In native villages built on the bare formation rock there are usually many awkward spurs on the surface of the rock within the kraal, which must cause great inconvenience to the occupiers, as well as being a constant source of danger. Yet these protuberances could very easily have been cut away. The same applies to awkward spurs found on the rock floors of the stone rampart walled villages of the old Ma-Karanga anywhere, especially in Makoni's country (Umtali). Frequently grinding stones could be greatly improved by the slightest touch with a chisel, still the arduous labour of the women is allowed to be increased by no attempt being made to remove what is but a trifling obstacle. The Bantu have not quarried any stone for their walls, nor have they ever been known to extend or improve any rock holes or caves when a very little labour with the chisel would have effected either.

PRE-HISTORIC RHODESIA

INYANGA AND UMTALI

(continued).

states are so poorly built that they "could have been almost run up in a few hours" (*M. R.* 4).

2. All the building materials are of the local formation stone: that is, on the granite formation only granite is used, on the slate formation only slate is used, etc. No transported gigantic blocks and beams have been used as at Zimbabwe.

ZIMBABWE TEMPLE

(continued).

form so as to suit the radii of the curve of the building.

2. Zimbabwe is situated in a district where the formation rock is all granite. Yet scores of tons of huge slate beams from 7 ft. (2·12 M.) to 12 ft. (3·65 M.) in length used as lintels, roofing, door-posts, monoliths, also of green chlorite schist used in mural decoration, neither of which could have been obtained within 12 miles (19·31 K.) of Zimbabwe. Tons of massive granite beams from 8 ft. (2·43 M.) to 12 ft. (3·65 M.) in length (several originally having been fully 15 ft. (4·56 M.) in length) must have been brought from a distance of 4 miles (6·43 K.), some of the larger beams having been carried up a precipitous height of 250 ft. (76·19 M.), and set vertically in masonry on the summit of walls which are 20 ft. (6·09 M.) to 30 ft. (9·14 M.) in height. The bulk of the granite blocks (many thousands of tons) used in the ruins of Zimbabwe Hill was carried up inaccessible sides

DIVERGENCES IN CONSTRUCTION

INYANGA AND UMTALI

(*continued*).

3. The walls are built of stones of all shapes and sizes, rounded boulders being mixed with flat stones indiscriminately. There was no attempt at adherence to courses, the walls being "unsymmetrical," and the faces of the walls are full of large gaps between the ill-fitting stones, the gaps having been filled up with small stones after the wall was erected (a Kafir fashion), as these can be removed without destroying the wall.

ZIMBABWE TEMPLE

(*continued*).

of the hill to a height of 200 ft. (60·98 M.) to 270 ft. (82·29 M.). Tons of huge soapstone beams used as monoliths have been brought from a distance of 15 (24·13 K.) or 20 miles (32·18 K.). The moving of huge stones, and the rearing of them into high and most difficult positions is a surprise to all modern builders, being a work which is altogether impossible to the modern Bantu.¹

3. The blocks in the main walls are practically all of one size, being about 9×7 inches (228×177 M.) on their faces. They have been most evenly sized and carefully selected, and fit very closely to each other, so closely that in many parts it is impossible to insert the blade of a knife between the blocks. The blocks are laid in true courses, the bonding being excellently distributed, the walls being practically free from ordinary

¹ As all travellers in South Africa, and, indeed, all settlers who have journeyed along native paths are aware, the natives have never been known to move even a small stone, which a hand could push away, from any native path, notwithstanding the stone must for generations have caused inconvenience in walking, the path being always diverted to avoid it. On native paths one meets with most ridiculous instances of such utter indifference.

PRE-HISTORIC RHODESIA

INYANGA AND UMTALI

(continued).

Many of the walls are built across *decayed turf*, which can be seen on removing the lower stones in walls. There was no prepared ground on which to build the foundations, which were carried over knobs, *ant-hills*, and hillocks, and in several instances over *stumps of trees*.

ZIMBABWE TEMPLE

(continued).

defects of modern builders. The magnificent proportions and splendid symmetry of the walls, and the graceful lines of the skilfully worked out batter-back, are such as to astonish and perplex all modern architects and builders.¹

At the Zimbabwe Temple the ground was prepared for the foundations, the top veld soil being removed. The foundations run for hundreds of feet together on one level, on which had been laid a granite cement bed on which the walls were built.

4. The walls have their

4. The internal portion of

¹ Mr. Bent draws attention to the marvellous evenness of courses of the dressed granite blocks and to the symmetry of the main walls of the Temple, which "as a specimen of the dry-builder's art is without a parallel," and adds, "The idea at once suggests itself that the people who erected these walls had at one time been accustomed to build in bricks, and that in the absence of this material they had perfected a system of stone-building to represent as nearly as possible the appearance of brick" (p. 111). Every one of the many archaeologists from Europe, and of the many architects and practical builders who has inspected the Temple walls, has expressed a similar opinion. The excellent bonding, the introduction of throughs, the laying of the cross-courses, cannot be accounted for by the suggestion that they originated in the unaided mind of a primitive and barbarous people. Moreover, it must be borne in mind that these walls are built of colossal size. The recent work, *Egypt and Western Asia* (King & Hall) describes the discoveries made within the last few years on the shores of the Persian Gulf of cities with "temple-towers" and also colossal "encircling walls" all constructed of brick, for brick was adapted to the dry climate of that country, whereas, owing to the sub-tropical rains of South-east Africa, brickwork would not be lasting.



PARALLEL PASSAGE (FROM NORTH END) LEADING TO CONICAL TOWER
ENCLOSURE.

THE TEMPLE, ZIMBABWE.
(To be compared with walls at Inyanga.)

DIVERGENCES IN CONSTRUCTION

INYANGA AND UMTALI *(continued).*

outer faces built separately, the internal parts being rudely filled in with rubble. These shell walls have in most instances been burst by the weight of the internal filling in. The shell walls, made of rounded boulders, appear to have had no long life. The larger blocks are propped up with smaller stones as wedges (a Kafir fashion). The buildings are "so rudimentary that they can hardly be described as built" (*M.R.* 21).

5. Maximum height of walls is 8 or 9 ft. (2·43 or 2·63 M.). It would have been impossible owing to poor construction to have carried these walls any higher. An extra weight would have broken down their shell faces, besides which the widths of their summits would not permit of the walls being raised higher.

6. In proportion to the heights of the walls, an overwhelmingly greater proportion of walls at Inyanga, Nani and Umtali have fallen down of their own accord. This is not the case at Zimbabwe. The chief feature

ZIMBABWE TEMPLE *(continued).*

the main walls are as well and as carefully built with trimmed stones as are their outer faces, which were not built separately. The courses are carried from the outer to the inner faces across the whole width of the walls on a true level. All blocks are straight on their sides, and tops and bottoms, and there is no necessity for wedging them into a level position, as each was trimmed to fit the neighbouring blocks.

5. The average height of the main walls is still 26 ft. (7·92 M.) to 32 ft. (9·74 M.), and are practically still intact. Architects report that the north, east, and south walls could have been built up another 10 ft. (3·04 M.) to 20 ft. (6·09 M.) without endangering the stability of the walls in the slightest.

6. At Zimbabwe broken ends of walls have stood for centuries without further dilapidations, and all of these are as much time-worn as the outer faces of the walls. Architects report that the Temple walls may

PRE-HISTORIC RHODESIA

INYANGA AND UMTALI

(continued).

at the former ruins is that their poor construction causes them to tumble down in whole lengths together, and when one part falls the rest must certainly follow.

7. The ends of all walls and sides of entrances are all perfectly angular, the entrances being so low (3 ft. 2 in. ('96 M.) that crouching is necessary.

Angular features are found in late buildings, and in repairs by subsequent squatters to older buildings. All the ruins which Professor Maciver states are later than the Temple present angular features.

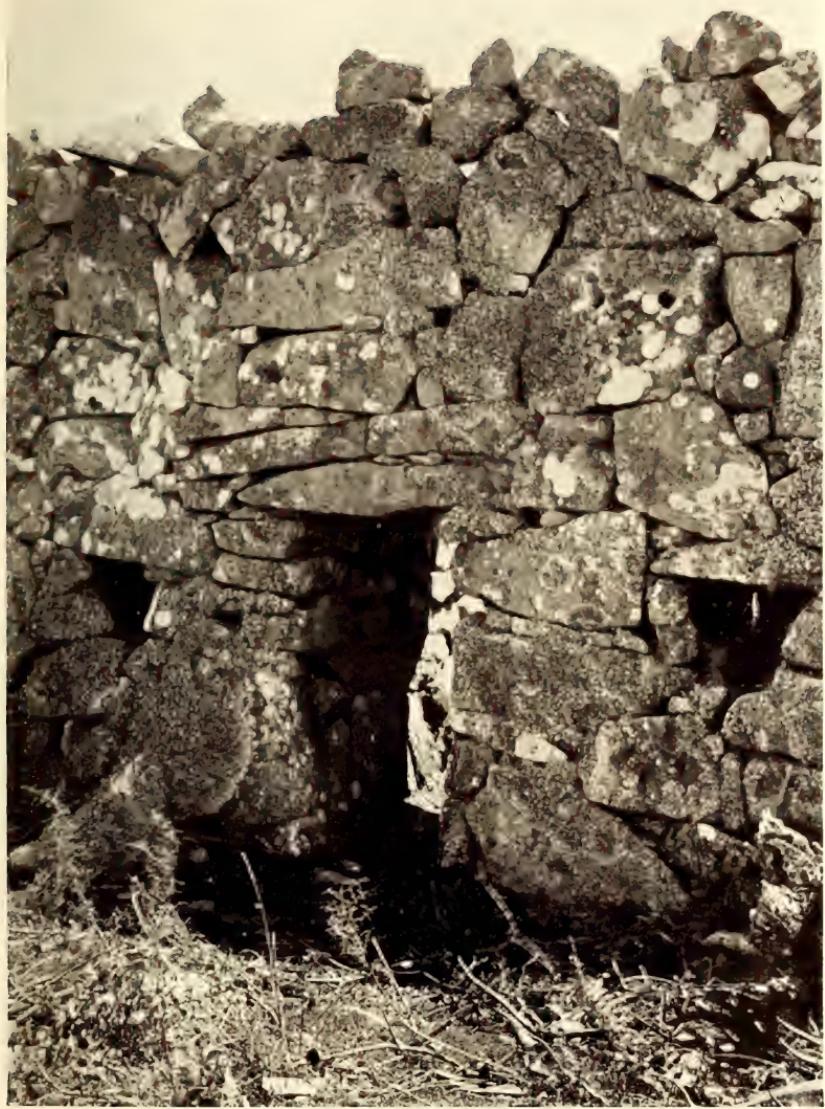
ZIMBABWE TEMPLE

(continued).

still be standing in 1000 or possibly 2000 years' time.¹

7. The ends of the main walls are beautifully rounded, the stones being dressed to suit the curves. These rounded ends are skilfully executed, and are among the most admirable features of the ruins. All the sides of entrances are also cleverly rounded. There are no angular features in the entrances, which were open to a height of at least 7 (2·12 M.) or 8 ft. (2·43 M.), some having never been covered over at all, these massive portals having side walls rising to 26 ft. (7·92 M.) on either side. Angular features at Zimbabwe are only found in obviously later and poorer walls, which show

¹ In comparing the present condition of the Zimbabwe Temple, and Inyanga and Umtali ruins, it should be borne in mind that the Temple is in a valley, is built on veld sub-soil, receives annually big streams of sub-tropical storm-water against its foundations, and that for generations trees and large creepers have grown unchecked both inside and outside the building. On the other hand, the northern ruins stand mainly on bare formation rock, are above rain-catchment areas, and the district is denuded of trees and monkey-rope and other vegetation which have played great havoc, until checked in 1901-3, at the Temple.



WALL OF HILL FORT (ANGULAR ENTRANCE).
INYANGA.

DIVERGENCES IN CONSTRUCTION

INYANGA AND UMTALI

(continued).

8. The original entrance bars at Inyanga were of wood, one "almost intact" (*M.R.* 18) is still fixed *in situ*! There is much woodwork *in situ* at Inyanga. Quantities could be collected. None

ZIMBABWE TEMPLE

(continued).

"the slovenly methods of later builders," and mainly in reconstructions.

8. No woodwork of the original builders remains.¹ The side-posts and lintels were of stone, some still remaining *in situ*, the others in the course of centuries have gradually splintered to

¹ *Woodwork in the Temple* (*Great Zimbabwe*, pp. 119, 120). "Iron shoes and collars once having served as bands round wooden posts, possibly to keep them from splitting, especially in a climate where there are daily such rapid changes from heat to cold, and which plays such havoc with the modern imported timber. These bands, which average almost an inch in width, generally passed twice round the post, and the shapes of the circumference of the post are square, oblong (these are the most frequent), or circular, but always perfectly true and exact, showing that the original builders used wood that had been specially shaped with tools, and not the rough, unworked poles used by old and present natives [also by the builders of Inyanga] many of which can still be seen never to have been touched with any tool save in cutting from the tree, and in lopping off small branches. These shoes and collars are only found on the original and lowest floors.

"One important fact is clearly demonstrated by the presence in quantities on the older floors of nails and shoes, and it is that the original builders and their more immediate successors extensively employed woodwork in the fittings of all the enclosures, some of it being of large dimensions, and in all probability worked with tools, and not used in the rough state. The general distribution of these nails and shoes throughout the enclosures, and at some depth, convinces one that substantial wooden fittings once existed in these enclosures [but not in the rearranged enclosures of later times], for the large sizes of the older forms of nails and the make of the shoes and collars preclude any suggestion of many of them having been used in woodwork which could have been easily removed."

If Professor Maciver's theory of the "natural evolution" of the Bantu and of the datings of the buildings had been well founded, it is most extraordinary that Arabs, Persians, and Portuguese never saw any wooden article or furniture which was covered by the beaten gold, the plates, with tacks, which have been found in profusion at Zimbabwe on the original and buried floors.

PRE-HISTORIC RHODESIA

INYANGA AND UMTALI

(continued).

was trimmed, but all was very rough, the bark still remaining, also the knots and unchopped-off spurs.

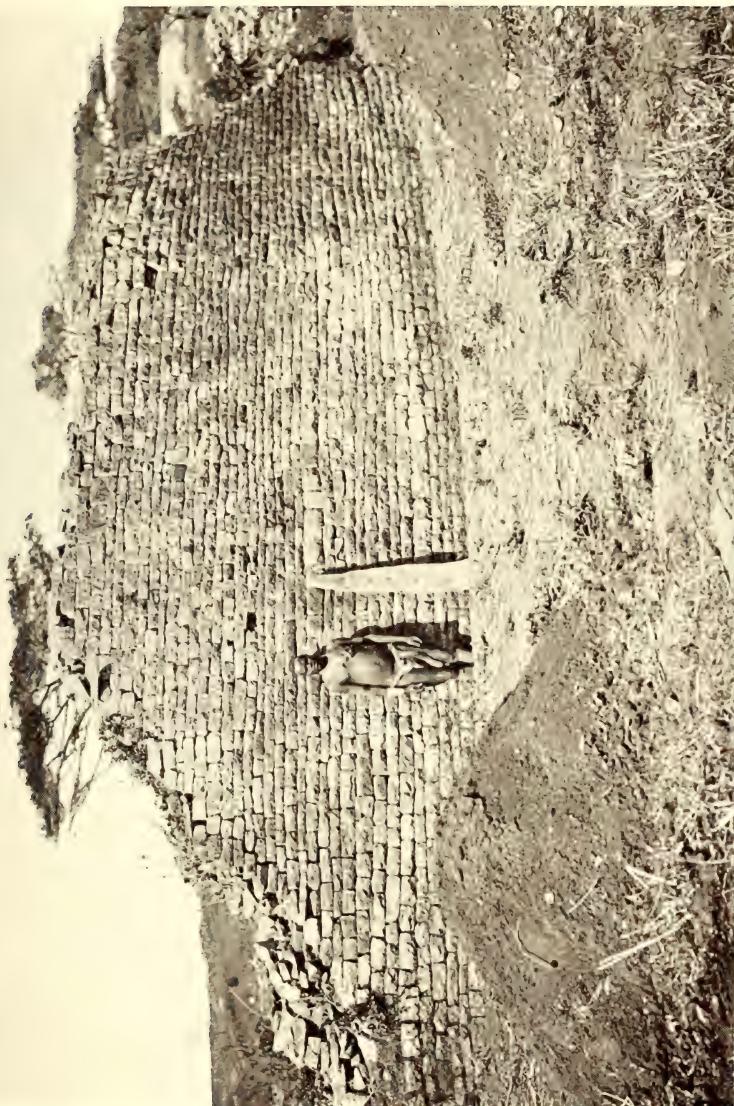
ZIMBABWE TEMPLE

(continued).

pieces. Even the woodwork, once covered with beaten gold plates, has disappeared, though the plates were found in positions in which wood should have lasted a considerable time. Almost all the gold plates still had the gold tacks fixed in the gold plates. The ebony sticks with gold heads and ferrules have altogether decomposed.

9. Complete absence of any mural decoration, this being accounted for by the irregular size and shape of the stones. Mural decoration is only possible where the blocks are selected and sized and laid in courses.

9. A handsome pattern of chevron design runs round the summit of the wall for 265 ft. (80·77 M.), and is laid on a true level throughout its entire length. The *relief* of the pattern is formed by the setting back of the stones between the angles of the blocks in the pattern. Dentelle pattern once ran round the eastern summit of the conical tower. There are also mural decorations neatly worked out in green chlorite schist. Check pattern, which forms the great feature of later buildings (Dhlo-dhlo, Khami, N'Natali, etc.) in Matabeleland, being altogether absent from Zimbabwe, as also is herringbone, except in one obviously later building in the valley.



WALL OF RUIN IN "VALLEY OF RUINS," ZIMBABWE.

(To be compared with walls at Inyanga.)

DIVERGENCES IN CONSTRUCTION

INYANGA AND UMTALI

(continued).

10. Absence of any drainage system.

ZIMBABWE TEMPLE

(continued).

10. The Temple is admirably provided with a complete system of drainage, which was planned before the main walls were erected, these passing through walls 13 ft. (4.56 M.) and 23 ft. (7.01 M.) thick, and above the foundations. The builders evidently appreciated the necessity for thorough sanitary arrangements. All the original enclosures had drains, the rearranged enclosures of obviously later date being without them. The débris of the original occupiers was removed to outside the building, but the débris of later squatters was never removed, but gradually increased in depth until some of the internal walls were completely buried, the drains having also become blocked up and buried to the depth of from 5 ft. (1.52 M.) to 10 ft. (3.04 M.)

II. Loopholes in walls.¹

II. Complete absence of

¹ *Loopholes.* Professor Maciver (*M. R.* 91) states, "It may be well to remark that Kafir tribes with whom the Portuguese had encounters used loopholes in their earthworks," and refers his readers to the records, and cites III, 363, 390; VII, 294. But Professor Maciver omits to state that the natives who built the stockades and used the loopholes were not Ma-Karanga, but the cannibal Muzimbas from far north of the Zambesi, who were then (1595) raiding the country of the Mocaranga. The very references he cites give this information, and his should not have been withheld. The Muzimbas made "loopholes

PRE-HISTORIC RHODESIA

INYANGA AND UMTALI

(continued).

12. The "cement" used is ordinary *daga*, or veld soil mud, strengthened, Kafir fashion, with ant-heap soil, and cow-dung, and containing stones, the *daga* floors being covered with the débris thrown from the huts.

13. Presence of shelter-pits, aqueducts, hill-terraces, etc., denoting a striking specialisation and individuality of building both in purpose and construction.

The pits evidence no rudimentary or even decadent stages. All are built in exactly the same style, of the same pattern and dimensions. They are all of the same period. Their form and

for arrows with which to molest the Mocaranga" (III, 363), a form of warfare (stockades) which was novel to the Mocaranga, and alluded to by Dos Santos as an entirely fresh feature in native warfare. But this is no explanation for the loopholes at Inyanga, for Inyanga had been built, according to Professor Maciver's own datings, very long before the arrival of the Muzimbas in 1595. Mr. Hammond Tooke, in his *Huns of South Africa*, writing of the stockades introduced by the Muzimbas of 1595, states, "This method of fighting on the defensive behind fortifications is not the ordinary method of Bantu warfare," also, "The mode of warfare being foreign to the mind of the southern Bantu, the term (*chuambo*, stockade) is probably a loan word from the Zimbas."

¹ Dr. Hahn's analysis of the Zimbabwe cement is given later (pp. 255, 256).

ZIMBABWE TEMPLE

(continued).

loopholes, not one being found at Zimbabwe.

12. The original floors are laid with finely-ground granite cement containing no stones or even splinters of stones.¹ *Daga* was only used by the subsequent squatters in these ruins, that is, by the people who used portions of the interior as cattle kraals.

13. A complete absence of all these features, the individual and specialised character in purpose and construction of the Temple being also altogether absent from Inyanga.

DIVERGENCES IN CONSTRUCTION

INYANGA AND UMTALI

(continued).

adaptability are distinctly local. Evidently the plan of these pits was introduced from outside, as none are to be found anywhere else in Africa south of the Lakes, or even to the north of the Lakes.

The same applies to the irrigation conduits and to the immense dams constructed on the upper waters of the mountain streams.¹

The hill-terraces are dealt with on p. 236.

14. None of the huts in Inyanga, Nani, and Umtali are, or were, "partitioned inside." This misconception on the part of Professor Maciver is explained later, p. 234.

15. The rings of stones which once supported the wattle and daub sides of huts were laid either across the bare formation rock or over turf. These stones were not built but leaned up on their edges against the woodwork. This is a native fashion, but of people very much later than those who

ZIMBABWE TEMPLE

(continued).

14. The huts at Zimbabwe—or rather the foundations of huts—are mainly those of later squatters. Not one of these is or was "partitioned inside."

15. The rings of stones to support the sides of huts are not found at Zimbabwe, and are altogether absent in many scores of the older ruins throughout the country.

¹ The dams in the upper waters of the mountain streams of the Inyanga Range, and from which the aqueducts run, are made of huge boulders which have been placed in position. Some of these dams are from 30 yards (27·43 M.) to 50 yards (45·66 M.) in length, one at least being nearly 100 yards (91·33 M.) across.

PRE-HISTORIC RHODESIA

INYANGA AND UMTALI *(continued).*

built at Zimbabwe. It can be seen in almost every garden where there is a watch-hut.

16. No conical tower with its associated phalli, "cup or ring" *linga*, monoliths, carved stone birds on beams, etc.

The "cairns" Professor Maciver saw at Inyanga are very far from being "prototypes" of the conical tower at Zimbabwe. These "cairns" are of all forms, but not conical; usually they are oblong, but all are low and flat, and one can walk over most of them. A certain type of these "cairns" are to be found in hundreds in parts of Southern Rhodesia. They are graves with stones thrown on the top. The natives know all about them, and some are not fifty years old. They are found in clusters in the vicinity of deserted wattle and daub kraals, and mostly in open veld country, where there are no rocks containing fissures in which to bury the dead. Natives when passing such piles of stones will often, for good luck, add a few stones to the piles.

ZIMBABWE TEMPLE *(continued).*

16. These are the great outstanding features of the Temple.

DIVERGENCES IN CONSTRUCTION

Having in view the points of divergence in construction, and in the individualisation and specialisation existing between Inyanga and the Zimbabwe Temple enumerated above, and this is by no means an exhaustive list, it is most difficult to follow Professor Maciver's statements, such as, "Great Zimbabwe does not differ in any essential points from the more northern sites [Inyanga, Umtali]," or "the Zimbabwe Temple has no point of superiority over several other ruins [Inyanga and Umtali being specified]," etc.

Yet we are invited to believe that a "gradual evolution of building," leading up from Inyanga to Umtali, and later from Umtali to the Zimbabwe Temple, actually took place, notwithstanding that Professor Maciver's own datings show that no intervening period, even between Inyanga and Zimbabwe, ever existed. But supposing there had been such a period, "the gradual evolution" could not have taken place. This is the declared opinion of recognised Bantu authorities, and this altogether apart from the archæological grounds on which Professor Maciver's claim can be shown to be altogether impossible.

In casting about to find some ruins which might possibly illustrate his theory of a "gradual evolution of building" on the part of the unaided Bantu, he was most unfortunate in fixing upon Inyanga and Umtali as "prototypes" of the Zimbabwe Temple. Inyanga being, as will be seen, of later date than the Temple illustrates the descent in culture at a late stage, and not the development from the simpler to the more complex form. The Zimbabwe Temple is not "a mere glorified Inyanga."

It is quite probable that Professor Maciver was misled as to the relative ages of the Inyanga and Zimbabwe remains, by the appearance of the ruins. The higher ridges of Inyanga (6000 ft. to 9000 ft. (1828·6 M. to 2743·1 M.) above the sea) during the winter are constantly wrapped in mist which causes lichens to grow even over modern structures, thus lending an appearance of great antiquity to comparatively recent buildings.

This feature is also noticeable in the Togwe and Motirikoi valleys, which in both winter and summer are usually filled

PRE-HISTORIC RHODESIA

with mists, which have caused the rudely piled-up stone ramparts of Ma-Karanga villages, which are of no great age, to be completely covered over with lichen.

But at Zimbabwe it is altogether different. Lithologists who have examined the class of granite at Zimbabwe assert that if at some indefinite time before 1505 the Moors saw the Temple and pronounced it to be "very ancient," they could only have seen the building centuries after its erection, and the blocks must then have become time-eaten, weather-worn, and old-looking, for the nature of the granite is such that the blocks of broken and dressed stone would, especially in the dry climate of the district, where there are no mists and frosts, have preserved their freshness and sparkle for very many generations. The absence of cement in the construction of the walls would tend to prolong their newness, as would also the excellent drainage system introduced by the original builders.

Divergences in Relics.

INYANGA AND UMTALI.

I. No squatting in ruins by later occupiers. "There is no evidence of subsequent squatting by natives" (*M.R.* 18). On this point Professor Maciver errs, for in several parts of Inyanga the old shelter-pits are utilised by the natives as sheep and goat kraals, while their present huts are erected in clusters round some of the pits, the pits attracting owing to the use to which they can be applied. This practice has possibly been in vogue for centuries. Even within the last few years natives have moved their huts from

ZIMBABWE TEMPLE.

I. The squatting by long successions of Ma-Karanga in and at these ruins, covering centuries of time from before 1500, when the barbarians possessed no tradition or legend as to its erection, and thought it was the work of the devil. These squatting operations are described elsewhere. Professor Maciver admits that subsequent squatters have occupied here for at least three hundred years. On the other hand, the evidences point, as shown later, to squatters having occupied for at least six hundred years, that is,

DIVERGENCES IN RELICS

INYANGA AND UMTALI

(continued).

one pit to another. The descent in culture shown at Inyanga is marked, but is not so decided as at Zimbabwe between the time of the original occupiers and that of the subsequent squatters, for, as shown later, Inyanga and Umtali were not erected until after the general rock-mining operations had ceased, the oldest relic here being purely Bantu of a later type than those at Zimbabwe.

2. The finds mentioned by Professor Maciver as discovered by him at Inyanga include *Isafuba* game stones (found also in squatters' débris at Zimbabwe), a wooden beam still *in situ*, charred wood, split antelope bones, common pottery of ordinary native make (found also in squatters' débris at Zimbabwe), and small clay animals (to be found in deserted villages anywhere, usually made by children, scores of which were made by my labourers during my stay at Zimbabwe).¹

¹ Clay Models of Animals.

The author for some years has had the advantages of watching the kraal-life of Ma-Karanga in districts where commerce and civilisation have made little or no inroad on the primitive conditions of the

ZIMBABWE TEMPLE

(continued).

since the period when gold ornaments were generally worn. The descent in culture from that of the original occupiers to that of the squatters is most strikingly illustrated here.

2. Several scores of phalli, some beautifully carved, and with the lotus pattern, two carved stone cylinders, "cup or ring" *linga*, large and massive soapstone bowls carved with animals, foliage, an ear of foreign wheat, birds, etc., large carved birds on stone beams, ingot moulds of *astragali* pattern, and carved knobbed monoliths. All original wood in the Temple has completely disappeared, while animal bones, split open Bantu fashion for extracting marrow, are

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INYANGA AND UMTALI

(continued).

No phalli, "cup or ring" *linga*, carved stone birds on beams, soapstone bowls, carved monoliths, *astragali* ingot moulds have ever been found at Inyanga or Umtali. No Nankin china or Arabic glass was discovered at Inyanga either by myself or Professor Maciver.

3. No gold beads, plates, wire, or even dust have ever been found at Inyanga by any explorer, nor were any discovered by Professor Maciver. Evidently the occupiers had no appreciation of the value of gold. The absence of gold at Inyanga can be explained on several grounds, the principal being that the

ZIMBABWE TEMPLE

(continued).

not found associated with the older relics, but only in the débris of subsequent squatters, in which alone Nankin china and other imported articles of the 13th and 14th century are to be met with.

3. A great profusion of solid gold bangles, some engraved with exquisite and minute designs, quantities of gold plates, gold tacks of microscopic size, gold wire, gold ferrules, gold stick-knobs, gold sun-images, cakes and bars of gold, were all found on the lower and original floors of the Temple.

natives. He has never yet seen an adult modelling clay animals. Adults state that this is solely the work of small boys as pastime, and that the grown-ups never made them, as they are only children's toys. On some scores of occasions the author has watched the little lads making them. The herd boys of different villages usually manage to keep their respective herds grazing near a donga or stream, where they can play together while keeping an eye on their herds. At these spots the clay animals may be found lying about by the half-dozen, also the miniature huts, a few inches in height, made of bits of grass. But every investigator's experience is identical. Mr. Dudley Kidd (*Kafir Socialism*, p. 51) says : "The rude attempts of the children to model in clay is not indulged in, as a rule, after puberty," and in *Savage Childhood* the author shows that this is solely a pastime of children. The clay animals picked up by Prof. Maciver cannot possibly be associated in origin or purpose, or be in any way connected with the large vulture birds carved on the summits of stone monoliths found at Zimbabwe.

DIVERGENCES IN RELICS

INYANGA AND UMTALI

(continued).

rock-mining operations had ceased before the erection of the Inyanga ruins.

4. One fragment only of glazed stoneware was discovered at Umtali which "closely resembled the stone-ware found at Zimbabwe" (*M. R.* 80, 104).

ZIMBABWE TEMPLE

(continued).

4. A few pieces of this glazed stoneware were found both by Professor Maciver and myself at Zimbabwe, but not in the Temple, but in a small ruin in the valley—Render's Ruins, which is most decidedly a later structure than the Temple, one of its main walls passing over the débris of subsequent squatters. This ruin was claimed by Professor Maciver as very far from being "ancient." If, therefore, this stoneware is employed by him in one instance as evidence of the comparative modernity of Render's Ruins, it cannot, in the other case, be employed as evidence of a far greater age for Inyanga. However, the expression "closely resembles" the stone-ware found at Zimbabwe (Render's Ruins) does not prove any identity either in make or date.

Inyanga and Umtali later than Zimbabwe.

Builders of Inyanga not "the first settlers."—To support his contention that the Inyanga and northern ruins were older settlements than Great Zimbabwe, Professor Maciver seeks to show that the enemy from whom the builders sought to defend themselves "was in the north," in the direction of the Zambesi, and "not in the

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east or south." "The northern region [Inyanga] nearest to the Zambezi is fortified with the most extraordinary minuteness, and the distribution of their buildings suggests the *probability* that they [the first-comers] first settled in the north" (*M. R.* 37).

But such an argument for the priority of the Inyanga remains is at least considerably weakened, if not entirely swept away, when one considers that the whole of the many scores of ruins which lie in territory extending hundreds of miles to the south and west of Inyanga are all massively-built forts. Their construction obviously demonstrates that protection was their main purpose, their defence-works exhibiting a military engineering skill which is altogether absent in the Inyanga ruins. Moreover, the numerous chains of forts on the block-house system which protect certain trade-routes throughout the country are only to be found very far to the south and west of Inyanga and Umtali. Strategically, no more admirable sites could have been chosen than the sites of the southern ruins of the Zimbabwe type, which Professor Maciver himself repeatedly describes as "fortresses."

But who were the enemy in the north? In 1505-1760 Inyanga was in the "empire" of the *monomotapa*, but on the boundaries of the sub-kingdom of Baroe and the former sub-kingdom of Manica, the inhabitants of both of which kingdoms were, as stated in the records, not Ma-Karanga but Ba-Tonga who occupied the Inyanga Range, and who are described as a people in every respect inferior to the Ma-Karanga. According to the records of the sixteenth century the sub-kingdom of Baroe extended from Manica (the boundaries of both kingdoms being clearly defined in the records) on the south to the Zambezi on the north, to the Manzovo (Mazoe) river on the west, and to Sena on the east. The territory of Baroe is still shown by that name and in that position on modern maps.

The Ba-Tonga were settled in these kingdoms very long before the Portuguese arrived in 1505. In the earliest records the kingdoms of Baroe and Manica are shown as forming an integral part of the "empire" of the *mono-*

BA-TONGA OCCUPIED INYANGA

motapa, which had certainly existed for some centuries before the Portuguese arrived. But the topographical nomenclature and the majority of the words given in the records in connection with Baroe and Manica are Chicarranga. This points to the Ba-Tonga having been incorporated with the Ma-Karanga for a very considerable period before the arrival of the Portuguese,¹ and covering the date Professor Maciver gives for the erection of Inyanga.

Therefore, if the Inyanga ruins were, as claimed by Professor Maciver, "the oldest remains in the country," dating from only "two or three centuries preceding 1500 A.D.," or if they, as he elsewhere states, "date from slightly before the Portuguese period (1500)," it would follow that (a) the Ba-Tonga were the builders of the Inyanga remains; (b) the Ba-Tonga must also have been the occupiers of Inyanga, for the evidences at these ruins, as Professor Maciver will allow, show an unbroken occupation by the same people covering centuries of time, while he has already stated "there is no evidence of subsequent squatters" on the Inyanga area (*M. R.* 18); and (c) "the enemy against whom these people [the builders of the Inyanga ruins, who must according to Professor Maciver's dates have been Ba-Tonga] were defending themselves was in the north" (*M. R.* 37), must have been the Ba-Tonga of Baroe—people of the same tribe and sub-kingdom!

These three inferences may, however, be quite incom-

¹ There are several tribes in South Africa who have for centuries been incorporated with more powerful tribes. This does not refer to conglomerate tribes where in the course of time absorption of the weaker tribe is finally effected and the distinctions in language, customs, and appearances are extinguished. The Ba-Tonga of Baroe and Manica, as other later incorporated tribes, occupied their own area of country, but they adopted, as is shown in the records, the language of the Ma-Karanga, while retaining their own individual customs and industries. Judging by the experience gained from other incorporated tribes, the relations of Ma-Karanga and Ba-Tonga must have existed for a very considerable period prior to the advent of the Portuguese in 1505. The customs of the Ba-Tonga of the sixteenth century were, as is shown in the records, of the Zulu variety, from which those of the Ma-Karanga differed (see later, Chapter XV).

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pative with any respect for the logic of observed facts, yet they are perfectly consistent with Professor Maciver's purely conjectural dates for the Inyanga and Umtali remains, and are the natural corollaries of his conclusions. They at any rate serve to show that his dates must be very considerably modified, and his time sequences rearranged. Further, that his conclusion that the Inyanga ruins are "the oldest remains in the country" because the fortifications suggest that the builders "first settled in the north" is not only highly improbable, but wholly unsubstantiated, and is opposed to the explicit statements in the records.

Inyanga not associated with the Rock Mines' Period.

Further, Inyanga and the northern sites lie outside and very far to the north and east of the region of the oldest rock mines. In the Inyanga district there is not a single gold mine sunk on rock. The Manica gold area lies to the south-east of the Inyanga Range, but, as the records state, the gold obtained here was won mainly by soil-washing operations of the natives on the surface and in river-beds. The Mazoe gold areas lie over 100 miles (160·94 K.) to the west of Inyanga, and the gold-winning operations of the natives there are described in the records by eye-witnesses in exactly the same terms as are applied in the case of the Manica area.

Dr. Theal has shown on historical grounds, and a great body of mining experts have further demonstrated, that the Portuguese never discovered nor opened out the ancient rock mines, which at that time had already been completely buried by a process of natural siltation during the course of centuries. The mining evidences show that the most ancient as well as the largest and deepest rock mines in the whole of Rhodesia cover territories which extend for several hundreds of miles south-west and south of Inyanga, and to which areas the only possible approach, for very obvious topographical necessities, was certainly not by the Zambesi, but by the Sabi river. For this southern area the Ma-Karanga of 1560 had no name save Toro or Toróa, which in Chicaranga means "Ancient;" De Barros also

RUINS OLDER THAN INYANGA

stating (VI, 26), "These mines [of Toro] are the most ancient known in the country."

The whole volume of mining opinion, and the records of 1505-1760, explicitly testify that the earliest pre-historic activities, whether of building or mining, were first displayed on the southern area. This effectually disposes of Professor Maciver's assumptions that the Inyanga ruins are the oldest remains in the country" (*M. R.* 86), and that the new-comers "first settled in the north" (*M. R.* 37).

Inyanga later than the Refure and Beza Ruins.

But Professor Maciver completely destroys his own argument that the Inyanga remains are "the oldest in the country," for he says (*R. G. S. Journal*, April 1906) that the Inyanga ruins "date from slightly before the Portuguese period [1500]. I *infer* from the absence of imported articles, as well as from Dos Santos's statement, that certain ruins a little to the north of them near the Zambesi were deserted in his day (1609)."¹ So that the Inyanga ruins, according to Professor Maciver's dates, were built, occupied, deserted, and had passed into oblivion all within a hundred years or so. The "gradual evolution" of the unaided Bantu in building would seem to have been somewhat rapid.

However, the following observations with reference to the statement quoted above may be made.

The ruins referred to by Dos Santos are stated by him (VII, 275, 276) to have been near Masapa and on Mount Fura (Refure), the present Mount Darwin, which is 125 miles (211.17 K.) W.N.W. of Inyanga, but at 100 miles (160.94 K.) south of the Zambesi, and not "a little north of them [Inyanga] near the Zambesi," as stated by Professor Maciver. Dos Santos writes, "Close to the town of Masapa is a very high and grand mountain called Fura [Chicaranga, *Refure* = very high, or the highest among the

¹ 1609, as given by Professor Maciver for the date of Dos Santos's statement, is hardly correct, that date being only the date of the publication of the *Evova* edition of his work. Father Dos Santos arrived at Sofala on November 1, 1586, and remained eleven years in the country; that is, from 1586 to 1597.

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high. A most appropriate name, as Refure is the highest of all the local hills].¹ On the summit of this mountain some fragments of old walls and *ancient ruins of stones and mortar* are still standing," and which he states the Portuguese, on the strength of coast Arab tradition, "considered were the ruins of the factory of Solomon." Alluding to the same mountain near Masapa, Sousa states (I, 23), "In the mountain Afur [Refure], near Masapa, are seen the *ruins of stately buildings supposed to be palaces and castles.*" It is further stated (III, 354), "Close to this market [Masapa] is the great and rich mountain called Fura [Refure], very plentiful in gold, from which *ancient Moorish tradition* relates that the Queen of Sheba obtained her gold."

But the climax to Professor Maciver's paradoxical claim is reached when we note that at some altogether indefinite time before 1505, that is, at some time between the eleventh century and 1505, the Moors had reported that the Zimbabwe Temple was already "very ancient" (vii. 267-8), and that the Beza ruins, in the Beza-Chidima district, which were 200 miles (321·8 K.) west of Inyanga, and much further to the north, and nearer to the Zambesi, had previously to 1560 already been the burial-place of generations of *monomotapas*, "all the Monomotapas are buried there, and it [the ruins] serves them for a cemetery" (III, 356). We must allow time for the "natural evolution of building," for the erection of the Beza ruins, "which are a supreme piece of work" [which is not the case with the Inyanga ruins], for a continuous occupation [all the ruins in Rhodesia give evidences of occupations covering centuries], for their deserton and abandonment, and for their subsequent use for

¹ Much good ink has been wasted in attempts to prove that Mount Fura [Refure] was associated with Ophir. Dos Santos was the first to make this claim. There are at least seven Mount Furas in Southern Rhodesia, the derivation of each being *refure* = the highest point of several points in a hilly range. All final syllables in Chicaranga are open. It was the habit of the Portuguese to make such final syllables closed, for instance, Banda became Bandar. They also dropped the first syllable in very many instances, these being naturally very difficult to detect. Mr. Selous, in the very early days, revived the old Portuguese rendering of the name, and this has led to much confusion.

RUINS USED AS CEMETERIES

the interments of "all the Monomotapas," and all this happening *before* the arrival of the Portuguese in 1505. The dates given by Professor Maciver for the Inyanga ruins from which he attempted to trace the "gradual evolution" of the Bantu in building, through "the valuable connecting link" of Umtali, till the style of the Zimbabwe was attained, are impossible.

Inyanga not the most Northerly Remains.

On still further grounds the theory that the Inyanga remains were "the oldest remains in the country" is discredited. "The northern region [Inyanga, Nani, and Umtali, specified] nearest to the Zambesi [actually 150 miles (241·3 K.) to the south of Zambesi] is fortified with the most extraordinary minuteness; the distribution of their buildings suggests the probability that they [the earliest comers] first settled in the north" (*M.R.* 37), "so that it looks as if the enemy against whom these people were defending themselves was in the north" (*M.R.* 37).

But the Inyanga ruins are very far from being the most northerly ruins. There are ruins very close to the Zambesi, "in the north," and several of these yield evidences that they are far older than Inyanga, and most certainly that they were not contemporary with, or even later than, Inyanga.

For instance, the ruins of the Muira district are within 10 (16·09 K.) or 20 miles (32·18 K.) of the Zambesi, or about one hundred miles north of Inyanga. These ruins I described eight years ago, and pointed out the evidences of their being older than Inyanga.

The Beza ruins, mentioned in 1560 as having been converted into a cemetery, "all the Monomotapas are buried there," are about 40 miles (64·37 K.) from the Zambesi, and at least 70 (112·65 K.) to 80 miles (128·75 K.) further north than Inyanga.

The Refure Ruins, which in 1560 were described as "ancient ruins of stones," and as "foundations of palaces and castles," are at least 50 miles (80·42 K.) further north than Inyanga.

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The Dambarari ruins, which are within 10 miles (16·09 K.) of the Zambesi, are fully 140 miles (224·31 K.) *more to the north than Inyanga.*

The Onave ruins, which are within 20 miles (32·18 K.) of the Zambesi, are quite 120 miles (193·12 K.) *more to the north than Inyanga.*

Other ruins lying well north of Inyanga can be mentioned, and all of these are undoubtedly much older than Inyanga (see *Inyanga later than the Rock Mines*, later).

But Dr. Livingstone refers to other ruins of stone buildings further north than Inyanga. At one ruin he mentions (*Tributaries*, p. 53) he found huge baobabs growing out from the stone floors, which trees, as in other instances cited, would not have started to grow until after the abandonment of the buildings. He counted the number of concentric rings in one section of a baobab growing in a ruin, which showed, he said, an age of five hundred years.¹ In

¹ The baobab-tree (*Adansonia digitata*) is a native of Africa and is known as the monkey-bread tree, or African calabash, the Ethiopian sour-gourd tree, or cream of tartar tree. It is frequently met with in Southern Rhodesia. Their trunks are of extraordinary thickness, some being as much as 30 yards (27·43 M.) to 40 yards (36·57 M.) in circumference, though 24 yards (21·94 M.) to 30 yards (27·43 M.) is a general size (a photograph of a baobab-tree is given in *The Ancient Ruins of Rhodesia*, Hall and Neal, facing p. 115). These trees are known to require growth during centuries to attain their maturity, and some are believed to be almost, if not quite, a thousand years old. Dr. Livingstone calculated that the concentric rings of one baobab represented *fourteen centuries!* Chapman (*Tributaries*, II, 441) mentions a baobab 101 ft. in circumference. These trees grow inside some of the ruins, particularly at Matendere, Chiburwe, and Baobab Kop ruins, in all of which they have done considerable damage by splitting up and throwing down walls. The Matendere ruins (in which there are at least a dozen huge giant baobabs) are believed to be of later date than the Zimbabwe Temple, but they are certainly older than any known Ma-Karanga stone rampart villages, in which such trees have never yet been found.

Mr. Bent writes (p. 136), "The baobabs have grown up and arrived at maturity long after the building of Matendere, and the subsequent abandonment." Also, "The ruins had been utterly abandoned for many centuries."

The old rampart villages in the Umtali district, which Mr. Bent (p. 100) states are more modern structures than Zimbabwe, are

INYANGA LATER THAN ROCK MINES

another instance he shows that the baobabs must have started to grow not later than the thirteenth century, at which time the buildings must have become deserted. Other and later writers on Southern Zambesia cite further instances of baobabs being found in ruins.

Therefore, Professor Maciver's claim that "the Inyanga remains are the oldest in the country" (*M. R.* 86), and date from "two or three centuries preceding 1500 A.D." (*M. R.* 87), and "from slightly before the Portuguese period (*i.e.* 1505)" (*R. G. S. Journal*, April 1906), the Umtali ruins being, in 1906, only "400 or 500 years old" (*M. R.* 86), and "belong to the fifteenth century" (*M. R.* 87), apart from his inconsistent and conflicting datings, are quite impossible of acceptance, and are opposed to the logic of observed facts, which clearly demonstrate that the earliest stone-builders were not "first settled" at Inyanga, Nani, or Umtali.

Inyanga later than the Rock Mines.

But the Inyanga remains most conclusively evidence that their builders, original occupiers, and subsequent squatters knew nothing whatever of gold. No gold articles or gold in any form, or the slightest traces of gold, have ever been found here. I have worked on this area for altogether a much longer time than the whole period spent by Professor Maciver in South Africa. I have cleaned out so-called "slave-pits" and forts, trenched hill-terraces and reopened old aqueducts, but I found no gold beads, and pannings of soil in the ruins invariably failed to yield a single grain of

altogether without baobabs. Even the evidences derived from these trees show that there is "something seriously wrong with Professor Maciver's datings of the ruins."

Since the above notes on baobab trees in ruins were written the author has visited the celebrated ruins of Matendere and Chironga in Nyashano's country, and found immense baobabs growing in those ruins, which had under their main trunks blocks from the walls deeply embedded in the wood when it was young, clearly showing that the trees had started to grow long after the abandonment of the ruins. The base of one tree whose trunk had grasped the blocks in its wood was 61 ft. (18·59 *M.*).

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gold. Professor Maciver also found no gold here, nor have the numerous other explorers who have examined these remains ever discovered gold in any form. Neither do the original occupiers appear to have had any connection whatever with any other people who did work gold, and yet from long before the time of Massoude (915 A.D.) there was an established export trade in gold from the hinterland of Sofala. This absence of gold in Inyanga is, except for the explanation given later, most astonishing when one recollects that Manica, which adjoined Inyanga and the old kingdom of Baroe, is the nearest pre-historic gold area to Sofala and the coast.

However, we are invited to believe that Inyanga possesses "the oldest remains in the country," that here began, contemporaneously with the disruption of the *monomotapan* "empire," the "natural evolution," the "gradual evolution of building" on the part of the Bantu which later culminated in the striking features of the Zimbabwe Temple! But Zimbabwe, and certain ruins of the Zimbabwe type, have yielded a profusion of most ornate gold ornaments. Therefore, if we follow Professor Maciver's line of argument, it would appear that the art of skilled rock-mining, and the general use of gold ornaments, were originated and evolved in the southern districts between the date he claims for Inyanga and the date he claims for the erection of the Temple, which alleged intervening period, according to his own dates and the distinct statements of the Portuguese writers, could never have existed. The suggestion, therefore, that the builders of the Inyanga remains, which dated "from slightly before the Portuguese period (*i.e.* 1505)," were the forebears of the rock miners of the southern districts is also impossible.

On the contrary, as I pointed out more than six years ago, the only acceptable explanation is: that the period of the extensive rock-mining operations and of the general use of gold for personal ornaments had, as shown in Chapters II and III, already terminated, very long before the arrival of the Portuguese, and was of a far earlier date than the Inyanga remains, and that the absence of gold in

A CHANGE IN CULTURE

Inyanga is accounted for on the same grounds which account for the complete absence of gold in the poorer and obviously later buildings of undoubted Ma-Karanga construction which are to be found anywhere on the actual gold areas in Mashonaland south of Inyanga; namely, their erection very long after the gold period of the rock miners had terminated, and of which operations the records of 1560 explicitly state that the Ma-Karanga possessed not a shred of tradition, and only knew them as *Toro* or *Torba*, which means ancient.

There were, as shown in Chapters II and III, undoubtedly distinct periods in Rhodesia—the pre-historic period of the rock miners, and the partly pre-historic and partly historic period of the Ma-Karanga and Ba-Tonga, who, stimulated by the demand for gold by the Magadoxo Arabs, and later by the Persians of Kilwa, and still later by the early Portuguese, only obtained it, as the eye-witnesses of their operations report in the records, by washing surface-soil and sand in river-beds.

The Zimbabwe Temple, with its extraordinary wealth of ornate gold articles, its ceremonial emblems in tower, phalli, "cup or ring" *linga*, gold sun-discs, stone vulture birds, and hundreds of huge monoliths, its skilfully-constructed massive walls and elaborate drainage system, belong to the pre-historic period, and probably, as I have always contended, to a later portion of that period.

The two periods, the rock-mining or pre-historic period, and that of the surface-earth and river-sand washing, mark a very great "change in culture." The fabrics of the two periods are not homogeneous except in so far that the later buildings of the Ma-Karanga are but poor, crude copies of the older and splendid type of structures which deteriorated on the exhaustion of the foreign influence originally brought about by the trade in gold of the early rock miners, a deterioration which became still more marked as time elapsed until complete Kafirisation was arrived at.

The fundamental error in Professor Maciver's argument, and which vitiates many of the archaeological evidences in his otherwise most scholarly and exceedingly able thesis, is,

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just what is stated earlier, that of attempting to prove a "natural and gradual evolution" in culture on the part of the altogether unaided Bantu, instead of recognising the patent descent in a culture which was originally introduced in its most perfected state, as evidenced in mining, building, arts, manufactures, and ceremonial.

Irrigation Works Limited to Inyanga.

But Professor Maciver states that the southern ruins, which he claims to be of less antiquity than the northern remains, "do not differ in any essential points from the northern sites," and that "all the remains are associated" (some of the important divergences in the construction of the northern and southern buildings have already been mentioned), and "the details of buildings are of a native African kind." But Dr. Livingstone states (*Tributaries*, p. 149) the Bantu was never known to lead water. Every student of the Bantu has expressed the same opinion. Certainly, Inyanga is the only spot in South Africa where water for irrigation purposes has ever been led. Professor Maciver states what is eminently true, *i.e.* "The gradients [of the conduits] are admirably calculated, with a skill which is not always equalled by modern engineers with their elaborate instruments." Of this art, which most patently is not "characteristically African," there is not a single trace or impression or tradition existing among any known Bantu people, nor was the skill demonstrated at Inyanga the result of "natural evolution" of the Bantu, for it was introduced there either by Zaide or Magadodoxo Arabs in its already perfected state.¹

However, "the gradual evolution" of the irrigation

¹ All the standard works on the Bantu show that the natives were never arboriculturists. To plant fruit-stones is considered as inviting evil consequences. There is no trace of any arboricultural work by the Bantu anywhere in South Africa. The Portuguese records, which detail the occupations of the Ma-Karanga, are silent as to such operations. The arboricultural operations at Inyanga have always been considered by authorities on the Bantu as having been instigated, together with irrigation works and terraces, either by Zaide or Magadodoxo Arabs, most probably by the former.

HORTICULTURAL TERRACES

principles displayed at Inyanga was not extended to any other district in Rhodesia, not even to Zimbabwe. If "all the remains are associated," and the southern ruins "do not differ in any essential points from the northern sites," and if "all the native arts and crafts are African," we might reasonably expect to find such an outstanding feature as the aqueducts of Inyanga extended to such other districts in Southern Rhodesia which are similarly conditioned for irrigation purposes. But such is not the case, for the simple reason that the Zaide influence was exerted at Inyanga long after the erection of the Temple.¹

Fortifications or Horticultural Terraces?

The Inyanga and Nani ruins were described by Mr. Telford Edwards in 1896, by Dr. Schlichter (*R. G. S. Journal*, February 27, 1899), and by several other visitors to that district, by Mr. W. G. Neal and myself in 1891 (*The Ancient Ruins of Rhodesia*), and in 1903 I visited Inyanga, and my descriptions were published in the *Anthropological Journal*, 1905, pp. 92-102.

From my own field-work among the hill-terraces I was bound to agree with all the previous writers who considered the hill-terraces to be not fortifications as Professor Maciver concludes, but terraces used solely for cultivating cereals, ground-nuts, cotton, vines, figs, olives, lemons, etc.

The following reasons should be considered as disposing of the suggestion that the terraces were constructed for "fortifications"—

(1) The district undoubtedly was inhabited by a very dense population, who, as the remains show, occupied the whole of the valleys between the hills, the valleys being crowded with the remains of habitations, so much so that there was no possible space left for cultivating the ground. The rudely-built walls of rough unhewn stone form concentric arcs of rings round the faces of the hills, but mainly

¹ Mr. Bent, in *Southern Arabia*, describes the extensive conduits for watering palm groves on the Bahrein Island in the Persian Gulf (pp. 19, 41, 67). He also states that in the Hadhramont (in South Arabia) were areas of abandoned irrigated ground (p. 142).

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on their northern and western sides, and not on their southern side where the snow lingers in the spring-time.

(2) In the Inyanga (proper) district, where the remains are older than those of the Nani district, the earth has been laid behind these concentric walls, and still remains in *thousands of terraces* in that position, hardly any of the terraces having been denuded of the soil, the terraces being practically flat. In the Nani district this is also the case, but here there are a great many of the walls which have no earth behind them, possibly, as has always been conjectured, because the terraces were not completed. Holes sunk on the intact terraces show that the bulk of the soil was carried up from lower levels, or dragged down from greater heights.

(3) The hill-terraces are to be found on that area where are the most extensive irrigation works. It is impossible to disassociate terraces and aqueducts, as many of the aqueducts cross the sides of the hills at different heights between the terraces, nor can the terraces be disassociated from the thousands of foundations of granaries raised on upright stones which are to be found at the pits.

(4) The most perfect of the terraces are to be found on the north—the sunny side of the hills, on which side, and also in protected ravines, are still to be found the non-indigenous plants, etc., mentioned later, their wild descendants forsaking the cold and sunless sides of the hills. Inyanga and Nani are from 5000 ft. to 7000 ft. above sea-level, the nights and early mornings and evenings, even in the summer-time, most frequently being intensely cold. Camping out at 7000 ft. I found on occasions to be somewhat trying, especially at nights, as the range is usually enveloped in mists, which often are soaking drizzles. All the native kraals are built away from the backgammon-shaped shadows caused by the higher hills.

(5) Professor Maciver states he found at these remains "no object which can be recognised as foreign," yet the Inyanga Range abounds in its weather-protected parts, and particularly on the lower slopes of the northern sides of the hills whereon are the terraces, with now wild *Tonge*

NON-INDIGENOUS PLANTS

manga cotton of Indian origin, and not the *Tonge cadja* which is indigenous, a bean, *Cajanus Indicus*, known in India as the Doll Plant (Kirk), Indian figs, also olives, lemons, grape vines, and many other non-indigenous plants, shrubs, and trees.¹

(6) In Yemen in South Arabia similar terraces were used, not for "fortifications" but for agricultural and horticultural purposes.

TERRACED SLOPES.

(*South Arabia.*)

"In one district the whole mountain-side was terraced from top to bottom. Everywhere, above, below, and all around, endless flights of terraced walls meet the eye. One can hardly realise the enormous amount of labour, toil, and perseverance which these represent. The terraced walls are usually from

TERRACED SLOPES.

(*South Africa.*)

The extent of the ancient terraces is astonishing, and there is every evidence of the past existence of hundreds of thousands of inhabitants. It would be quite impossible to convey an idea of the immensity of labour implied in the enormous number of these terraces. It appears to be abundantly clear that

¹ The works of Livingstone, Chapman, Burton, Kirk, and of all later writers, draw attention to the number of plants, shrubs, and trees of Indian origin to be found in Southern Zambesia. The Zaide and Magadodoxo Arab influence explains the presence of figs, vines, lemons, oranges, olives; but the wide area, 700 x 600 miles, and which corresponds with the mines' area, covered with other non-indigenous, such as the *mahobohobo* (from S. India and Malay) and the *matuvu* (from India), trees evidence an intrusion of influence of a far earlier date than that of the Zaide and Magadodoxo Arab settlements on the Sofala coast.

Dos Santos (1586) states (VII, 190), "In two places along the river of Sofala [Buzi and its tributary the Revue] there are two unowned thickets full of orange- and lemon-trees, of which all who choose may freely gather the fruit; and the lemons are so abundant that the Kafirs load vessels with them and go down the river to Sofala, where they are sold for almost nothing. The inhabitants of the fortress salt and fill barrels and jars with them, which they send to India, where they are greatly esteemed, and are eaten with rice."

In 1403 Abd-er-Rashid states that in South-east Africa vines flourished extensively.

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TERRACED SLOPES.

(*South Arabia*)

(*continued*).

4 ft. (1.21 M.) to 5 ft. (1.52 M.) in height, but towards the top of the mountain they are sometimes as much as 15 (4.56 M.) or 18 ft. (5.48 M.). They are built entirely of rough stone laid without mortar. I reckoned that on an average that each wall retains a terrace not more than twice its own height in width, and I do not think I saw a single breach in one of them unrepaired" (*Haig, Proceedings Geographical Society, 1887, p. 482*).

Similar terraces for purely cultivation purposes are to be found in the Peru, at Luzon in the Philippines, New Hebrides Islands, and also in several other parts of the world.

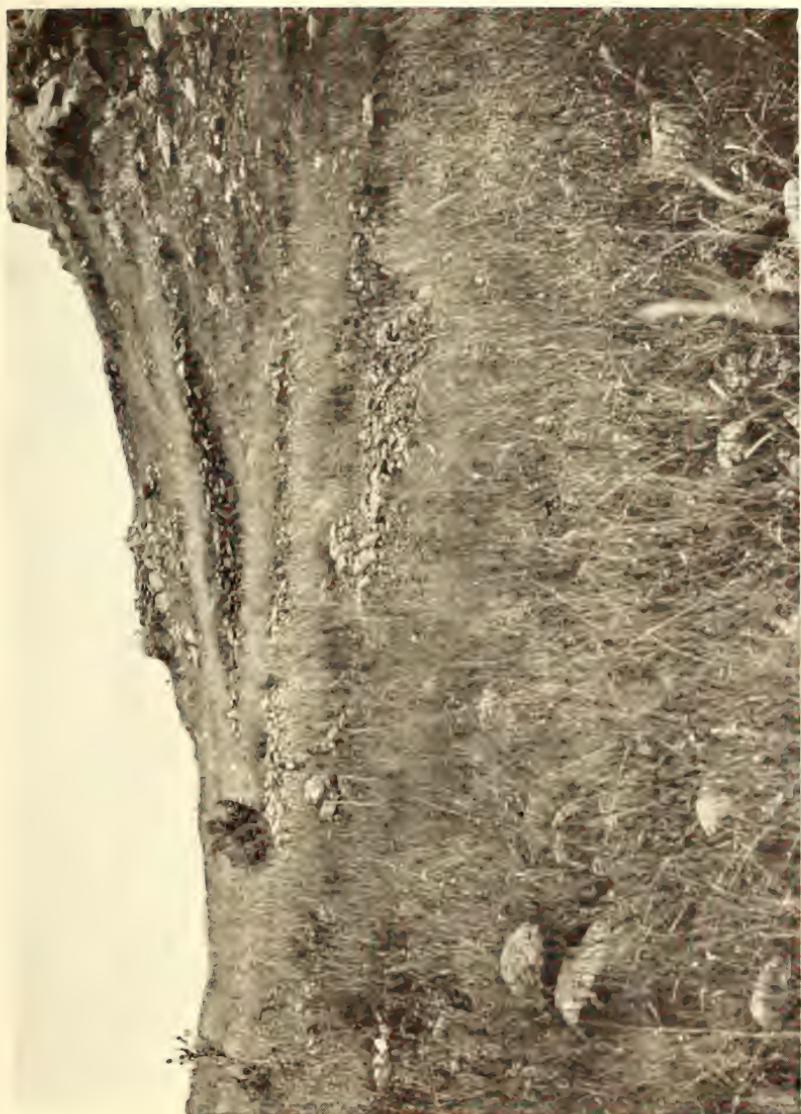
(7) The practical value of these terraces as "fortifications" is considered by military engineers who have inspected them to be not only worthless, but absolutely dangerous for the defenders had the walls been fortifications, for what would have sheltered the defenders would have served admirably as screens for the attacking party; in fact, the attacking party, it is considered, would have had the greater advantage and the defenders the more obvious disadvantage in any engagement. Moreover, the doubtful value of such walls as defences is not in any degree commensurate with the enormous labour expended upon them. The sunless sides of the hills are not "fortified." Many of the "fortifications" were never higher than 1 ft. 6 in. (457 M.).

TERRACED SLOPES.

(*South Africa*)

(*continued*).

the terraces were for the purpose of cultivating cereals of some sort. The terraces as a rule rise up in vertical lifts of about 2 (609 M.) or 3 ft. (91 M.), and extend backwards over a distance of mostly 7 ft. (2.13 M.) to 12 ft. (3.65 M.). The terraces are all made very flat and of dry masonry, not of hewn stone" (*Telford Edwards, quoted by Hall and Neal, The Ancient Ruins of Rhodesia, p. 353, sq.*).



REMAINS OF HORTICULTURAL TERRACES,
(Professor MacIver's "Fortifications")
INYANG'A.

'DEFENSIVE SCHEME RELAXED'

(8) The Inyanga district was already most amply provided with stone walled forts on the summits of the hills as described by Professor Maciver (*M.R.* 6, 7), and of which he states, "Strategically no more admirable sites could have been chosen [for the hill forts]."

For these reasons, it is most improbable that Professor Maciver has any warrant for claiming the terraces as "fortifications," and still less so when he states, "A little further to the south, at Inyanga, the rigour of the defensive scheme [of hill-terraces] is a little relaxed; then at Umtali [which district does not lend itself to such methods of cultivation, and is altogether differently conditioned to Inyanga and Nani] the need for fortification seems to have been no longer felt. *So that it looks as if* the enemy against whom these people were defending themselves was in the north, not in the east or south, and the distribution of their buildings *suggests the probability* that they themselves *first settled in the north*, and only later extended their range down to Umtali." This sentence contains the chief argument advanced by Professor Maciver that "the Inyanga remains are the oldest in the country" (*M.R.* 86), and is based, apart from the local evidences which are, as already shown, opposed to his claim, on such pure assumptions as "seems," "so that it looks as if," "I infer," "suggests the probability," etc.—all which assumptions are diametrically opposed to the logic of the observed facts demonstrated in the Inyanga district, including Nani and Umtali (see *Rhinoceros Myth*, p. 154).

Inyanga, Umtali, and Later Ruins Elsewhere.

One of the most noticeable and important features in the Inyanga, Nani, and Umtali remains, and which points to their being of much later date than the Zimbabwe Temple and its closely associated class of buildings, is, that with the exception of the shelter-pits, irrigation conduits, and dams, and series of hill-terraces, all of which are strictly confined to this locality, there are not only striking parallelisms but identities with structures, and methods of construction, of later times, and which even Professor Maciver claims as

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subsequent to Zimbabwe, to be found elsewhere in the country.

(1) The Inyanga, Nani, and especially the Umtali ruins are the nearest approach in plan, method of construction, and general features to the rampart walls of the very old Ma-Karanga which are to be found on the summits of hills throughout Southern Rhodesia, while the finds in all are of practically similar character. All descriptions of the walls at Inyanga are fairly good descriptions of the walls of the later structures elsewhere, all of which differ in identically the same essentials from those of the Zimbabwe Temple. This can be seen by comparing photographs.

(2) Makoniora's Walled Town is but a few miles north of Rusapi Siding, and 30 miles (48·27 K.) from Old Umtali. This does not in the slightest approach Zimbabwe in age. The evidences it presents show it to be far more recent than Iyanga, and possibly of the same period as Umtali. It is a very old Ma-Karanga village with rude girdle walls of piled-up stones. It is of exactly the same type of structure as is Chipadzi's kraal mentioned by Mr. Selous at the R. G. S. debate. No gold, or any of the Zimbabwe form of relics, are found in such structures. Mr. Bent was perfectly correct in stating (p. 100) that Zimbabwe and the older ruins "are quite distinct from the more modern structures in Makoni (Umtali) country." Mr. Bent, writing of the Makoni (Umtali) country, states, concerning the poor ruins of this district, which Professor Maciver claims as the "prototype" of Zimbabwe Temple, "There is no evidence of any antiquity about them" (p. 355).

Mr. Bent went through the country long before the time of railways, and his field-survey covered territories which Professor Maciver never traversed. Mr. Bent inspected far more of the structures of the old Zimbabwe type than did Professor Maciver, but he also saw at least two-score of the walled villages of the old Ma-Karanga, which Professor Maciver did not see, except at Umtali, which he claims as older than the Zimbabwe Temple. These old Ma-Karanga villages, Mr. Bent states, "are the work of the remnants of a higher civilisation."

DECADENCE IN CULTURE

"It seems," Mr. Bent adds, "hardly possible that the gigantic buildings of Zimbabwe and at other places in the country can have existed in their midst without the inhabitants making some attempt to copy them, and here [Makoni's country in which was and is Umtali] we have an imitation, though a poor one" (p. 347).

"The noticeable characteristic of this part of the country and all the way down to Manicaland [Umtali] is the number of ruined fortified kraals which one comes across, culminating, as if to a central head, at Chipunza's [mentioned by Mr. Selous]. These spots have been long deserted, and are now overgrown with jungle. We visited one of these just after entering Mangwendi's territories ; there is something about them which recalls the Great Zimbabwe—the triple line of fortifications, the entrances slightly rounded ; but then the stonework is uneven, the walls being built of shapeless stones, roughly put together with mortar. Here we see none of the even courses, the massive workmanship, and the evidences of years of toil displayed in the more ancient ruins ; the walls are low, narrow, and uneven. Are we to suppose an intermediate race between the inhabitants of Zimbabwe and the present race, who built these ruins ? or are we to imagine them to be the work of the Ma-Karangas themselves in the more flourishing days of the *monomotapa* rule ? I am decidedly myself of the latter opinion. No one who had carefully studied the Great Zimbabwe ruins could for a moment suppose them to be the work of the same people ; yet they are just the sort of buildings an uncivilised race would produce, who took as their copy the gigantic ruins they found in their midst. For the next few weeks we were constantly coming across these ruins, and the study of them interested us much" (pp. 336, 337).

"The crucial test in classifying these remains [ruins] are the courses in the walls" (p. 295). This has invariably been the experience of myself and other explorers : the ruins with the best-built courses contain the oldest relics and the gold.

(3) The breaches in the walls—the sides of the huts filling the gaps, as at Inyanga, are of two descriptions,

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(a) a native fashion seen frequently in wood-fenced wattle and daub villages where the huts form part of the fences. This is an economy of timber, especially in those districts on the high veld, where suitable timber is very scarce, as also in Inyanga, which is denuded of the timber trees of which kraal fences are usually made; and (b) in other instances, say at Posselt ruins in the Zimbabwe Valley, in order to make space for another hut inside the old walls, subsequent squatters have taken down a length of the outer wall, and thrown the stones from it on one side, where they still lie, some of which have been piled up between the ragged ends of the wall and the sides of the hut. This is apparent at first sight, and needs no explanation. But this feature is altogether absent at the Temple, and is not even to be found in connection with its divisional walls, some of which are the work of subsequent squatters.

(4) The "cement" at Inyanga and at the later ruins elsewhere is native *daga*, identically the same in make and materials as was used by the subsequent squatters at Zimbabwe, while the original floors of the Temple were laid with finely-ground granite cement of a most enduring character.

(5) The vertical stones set endwise in *daga*, "as molars in the jaw," are about 12 in. (.304 M.) to 18 in. (.457 M.) in height, and are found in circles with diameters of 5 (1.523 M.) and 6 ft. (1.827 M.), far too small for a hut, round any "slave-pit" on the Inyanga Range. These are also commonly found in most present wattle and daub kraals, especially those on the high veld, where there are no protruding rocks or boulders on which to erect granaries out of the reach of white ants. These upright stones had large flat slabs laid across their tops to form the floor of granaries raised upon them. These are altogether absent from Zimbabwe, except at one spot, where till 1896 the Mogabe had his kraal within the ruins. The space below would keep the grain from becoming damp, and moreover the white ants will not climb at great height up stones. Evidently Professor Maciver was not aware of this very ordinary native practice. He, however, appears to have

'PLACE OF OFFERINGS'

been surprised that so many grinding stones were to be found in the close vicinity of such raised floors, for he writes, "Grinding stones are usually found in close proximity to them" (*M. R.* 27). This is the case in any ordinary native village of to-day. Mr. Bent describes the granaries in villages, built on upright stones to enable the air to pass underneath (p. 347). Such structures are most certainly not "huts."

(6) "Place of offerings" (*M. R.* 32). Such places are not associated by the natives with buildings of any sort. Personally, I know of none associated with any stone building. Professor Maciver makes the definite statement that he found one in a stone structure at Nani. I believe he has been misled, at least that is also the opinion of several Native Commissioners and other residents best qualified to judge. Probably his informants have mistaken the graves of chiefs made in the ruins after the subsequent squatters had abandoned the shelter of the walls, but these must be comparatively recent.

"Places of offerings" are always at some distance from any dwellings, and are sometimes found near plantations, or in dense woods, but more frequently in ravines where there are oddly-shaped rocks or peculiar formation of the strata, or where a thick band of white aphite crosses a bare granite knoll on the open veld. In these spots quantities of small pots, and small pots only, are to be found, these formerly containing grain, porridge, meat, milk, and beer. In the grass at such places bangles and necklaces are to be found, these having been deposited there by natives. There is one such place in a ravine on the north-east side of the Matoppas, where many such articles have been found, but all were of comparatively recent age, but earlier than 1837. Ma-Karanga assure me that no sacrifices or offerings were or are offered or presented in villages but always at some little distance away. The records show that from 1505 to 1760 the Ma-Karanga did not offer sacrifices in villages. Two sacrifices took place during times of drought during my stay at Zimbabwe, but those took place at a spot fully three-quarters of a mile

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(1216·99 M.) from any dwelling. Such places of offerings must not be confused with graves, where offerings are also made. The subject of offerings is dealt with in several standard works on the customs and folklore of the Bantu. Professor Maciver's attempt, founded on a misconception, to connect the place of offerings (if it were such) at Nani with the ceremonial practised by the original occupiers of Zimbabwe, must altogether fail in its purpose. Several authorities on the Bantu whom I have recently consulted are quite agreed on this point.

The detailed description of the "Place of Offering" given by Professor Maciver (*M.R.* 32) is an exact description of a spot where natives usually make their beer, for in these places are always the remains of wood fires, and also a score or more of large empty jars, which are undoubtedly "bulky," and are of the ordinary beer-pot size and shape well known to all settlers. But the remains of charred wood lying on the open veld cannot belong to the 14th century!

(7) The Inyanga, Nani, and Umtali remains, as also those of the old Ma-Karanga elsewhere, contain no trace of gold in any form.

(8) The finds at Inyanga and in the late native structures at Umtali and elsewhere are absolutely identical, except for the imported articles of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, with the finds in the débris of the subsequent squatters at Zimbabwe and in all ruins of the Zimbabwe type.

Phallic Ceremonial not General.

But one exceedingly important feature associating the northern sites with those of old Ma-Karanga structures elsewhere, is that in all these buildings there is an entire absence of any structure, emblem, or other article which could by any possible straining be considered as "prototypes" of the associated structures and emblems employed in the ceremonial once practised at Zimbabwe.

The "Place of Offering," with its "bulky" native beer jars and charred wood of fires lying on the open veld, is not the "prototype" of the platform and its associated

PHALLI AT ZIMBABWE ONLY

conical tower and *auditorium* as in the Temple. The cairns and village graves are not the "prototypes" of the conical tower. The clay animals, as made to-day by children, are not the "prototypes" of the carved stone vulture birds on decorated beams. Finally, *not one single authenticated phallus has ever been found at Inyanga, Nani, Umtali, or in any one of the very old Ma-Karanga structures elsewhere.*

But a most surprising statement, which is absolutely without the slightest evidence to support it, is made by Professor Maciver, who, to substantiate his theory of the "*equality*" of the Rhodesian remains, seeks to prove that the ceremonial practised at Zimbabwe was general at all the remains. He states, "*Zimbabwe is by no means the only place where phalli have been discovered; they have been found at Umtali and Khami, and no doubt elsewhere*" (*M.R. 73*). This is, as the settlers in Rhodesia are fully aware, a most gratuitous and unwarranted assumption.¹

The stones found by Dr. Schlichter at Inyanga and Umtali, which he at first considered to be true phalli, were, as he stated publicly, by no means phalli but imitative stones of slate such as may be found in any river-bed on the slate formation.

The only one conjectured phallus found at Khami was one I picked up, not in the ruins, but from among the shingle stones on the side of the river. This was reported upon and shown to be a water-worn stone, of which its fellows were to be found in the river-bed during dry seasons. (This "relic" is No. 261.) No other suggested phallus has ever been found at Khami.

Two conjectured phalli (Nos. 257, 258) were found in Tati, but not at any ruin, and have been shown to be but wind-worn imitative stones.

¹ The Portuguese writers of the sixteenth century saw no phalli or carved stone birds, or even heard of them. Neither did the Arab and Persian writers since 915 A.D. Had the Portuguese seen them, or even heard of them, they would not have written, "They have neither idols nor images" (VII, 199), "None of them have any kind of idol or form of worship resembling idolatry" (II, 93), etc. See also p. 412.

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Find No. 253, though closely resembling a phallus, is believed to be but a water-worn stone; at any rate, it has never been considered by experts as a true phallus.

Of over two hundred and seventy relics scheduled with particulars of location, finder, date, etc., not a single phallus has been found anywhere in Rhodesia save at Zimbabwe. Here fully two hundred carved stone phalli, many being decorated, were found in association with the conical tower, carved stone birds on beams, and the decorated "cup or ring" linga, none of which have ever been found elsewhere than at Zimbabwe.

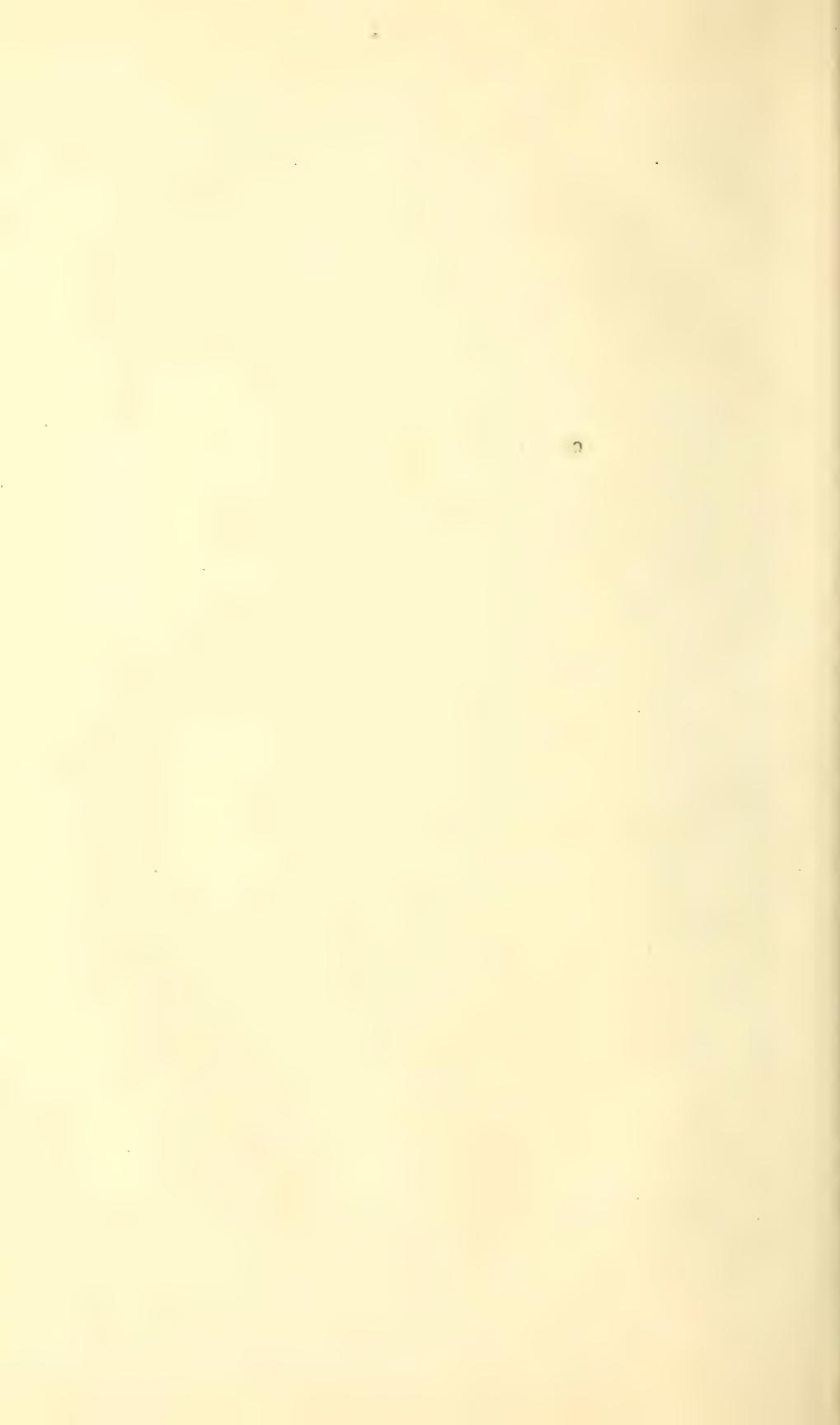
This can be explained: The remains in Rhodesia are not of one "equality." There were wide periods of time separating them which evidence a vast divergence in culture from the skill in rock-mining, stone-building, and arts imported in pre-historic times in its most perfected form to the degeneration displayed in the crude methods of the natives of the sixteenth century. The phallic emblems of Zimbabwe and their associated vast wealth of gold were all buried in silted soil and wall débris long before the Inyanga, Nani, and Umtali remains were erected, and before the influence of Zaide or Moslem Magadoxo Arabs upon the natives caused the introduction of the irrigation aqueducts, river dams, shelter-pits, horticultural terraces (which are not "details of an African native kind"), and the non-indigenous cereals, plants, fruits, and trees which form the outstanding features of the Inyanga area. The subsequent squatters at Zimbabwe were undoubtedly the contemporaries of the original occupiers of Inyanga, Nani, and Umtali.

The Purpose of the Shelter-pits.

The purpose of the shelter-pits has always been perfectly manifest. They were never granaries, for never having been lined with cement the grain would have been most assuredly damaged by the damp, and, moreover, the white ants would have been free to attack it, there being nothing to exclude them. Further, round the pits are multitudinous foundations of old granaries built of wattle and



ENTRANCE TO SHELTER PIT, FROM INTERIOR.
INYANGA.



PURPOSE OF SHELTER-PITS

daub upon a raised floor of slabs (cemented), supported on short upright stones allowing the air to pass beneath. Each pit has at least three or four of such structures built on the top of the surrounding platform. These are exactly similar to the granaries seen in hundreds of villages to-day.

Professor Maciver states the pits were "stone houses for grain (a purpose to which the Mashonas of the present day actually adopt them)" (*M.R.* 12). This to my knowledge is not the case, but farmers in Inyanga who have scores of these pits on their lands state that the natives do *not* use the pits for such a purpose, and wonder how Professor Maciver came to make such an extraordinary assertion!

The shelter-pit is not of a "native African kind." It was not a place of "defence" (*M.R.* 29), for it would have been a veritable death-trap for any occupiers. The pits were once roofed over. This is evident, for the places for the poles can still be seen, and natives state that this was the case, and this fact is also included in their traditions.¹

I have always agreed with those writers on the Bantu who consider the irrigation works, both aqueducts and dams, the shelter-pits, and the hill-terraces (with the non-indigenous plants, shrubs, and trees), though native labour was employed in their construction, were directly introduced by either the Zaide or the Magadodoxo Arabs. Labour to an inconceivable extent was employed in cultivation on the hill-terraces, and much had to come from lower country : hence the shelters.

All the pits have their outer passage entrances directed towards south, south-south-east, and south-east, and never to any other point of the compass. This was evidently for the same reasons as natives fix the positions of the doors

¹ The natives of the early part of the sixteenth century, if not much earlier, had no tradition or even legend as to the erection of the Temple at Zimbabwe (see Chapter V, *Tradition and Ruins*), but there exist many traditions concerning both the erection and the occupation of the Inyanga and Umtali remains. The expression Toróa (Ancient) was not applied in the records to Inyanga. This fact should be noted.

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of their huts, viz. to be protected against the prevailing cold winds and driving mists and rains.

But it must be borne in mind that the area in which these shelter-pits are to be found is from 5500 ft. (1676·37 M.) to 6500 ft. (1981·19 M.), if not 7000 ft. (2133·59 M.), above sea-level. Umtali, where there are no such shelter-pits, is but 3500 ft. (1007·38 M.), and Nani, which has hardly any such shelters, is only 4000 ft. (1219·2 M.) above the sea. At Inyanga such shelters would be needed, but on ground 2000 (609·58 M.) and 3000 ft. (904·28 M.) lower, these shelters would not be necessary.

The employers of native labour on the Rhodes farms, and on other properties at Inyanga, state they are compelled to employ only Inyanga labourers, as these are acclimatised to the extreme altitude of the range. Further, that labourers from the lower and hot country when introduced to the Inyanga heights simply "die off like flies." Physically, the natives of Inyanga are poor specimens of humanity, and feel the cold to such an extent that they are obliged to wear their blankets while working. Their hours, too, for the same reason, are much shorter than those of the natives of the lower country. In such shelters the labourers who worked up on the terraces would be protected from the driving wet mists, rains, and frosts which are the feature of the climate at this altitude.¹

Umtali Ruins.

Professor Maciver claims these ruins as the prototype of the Zimbabwe Temple, and as forming "a valuable link [in relative age and 'evolution of building'] between

¹ De Barros mentions snow as being seen on the Inyanga mountains, "so abundant that any one remaining on the heights during the winter season is frozen to death" (VI, 266). Its inhabitants were Ba-Tonga. This information alone is sufficient to completely destroy Professor Maciver's theory as to the "first settlers in the country," for the Ma-Karanga arrived long before the Ba-Tonga, and there could have been no "natural evolution of building" from the Inyanga Ba-Tonga to the Ma-Karanga of Zimbabwe. It likewise further most seriously compromises his datings of the Inyanga structures.

UMTALI ON MAIN ROUTE

Inyanga and Zimbabwe." Had Nankin china been found at Umtali such a discovery in itself would completely upset the "prototype" theory put forward by Professor Maciver. This he well knew must be the case, so he is careful to state, "From Umtali itself no evidence of Portuguese trade has yet been obtained" (*M. R.* 103).

But this is very far from the actual fact. Mr. Bent says, "Of Portuguese remains there are several in the Umtali fort, where centuries ago the pioneers held their own for awhile against native aggression" (p. 364). The Umtali district is one of the places where Mr. Telford Edwards was able, by the great quantity of Nankin china found, to follow the activities of the Portuguese "as easily," as he says, "as following a hare in a paper-chase." Old Portuguese articles are constantly being found at Umtali; Dos Santos describes the district. The Portuguese forts and the ancient mines they cleared out and extended are close by. The Umtali route from Sofala, *via* "The river of Sofala [Buzi and Revue]" passed right through it.¹ Had Professor Maciver made the slightest inquiry locally he would have known far differently. As Messrs. Bent, Telford Edwards, and others have shown, and as the actual ruins of Umtali demonstrate, and as the tradition of Makoni's people concerning the Umtali ruins prove, Professor Maciver has not the slightest justification for claiming

¹ At Umtali, and on its east side, is the pass through the mountainous escarpment of the central plateau of South Africa. This affords the only overland approach from Sofala to the interior, *i.e.* Mocaranga. Both Moors and Portuguese used this route from Sofala to Masapa, the capital of Mocaranga. Monclaros states, "This was the correct route" (VI, 387), and it was so held by "experienced men" (*ibid.* 361). Sousa describes it as "the most proper road" (I, 29), the Zambesi route being "so dangerous and tedious" (I, 30). "There are two ways to the mines [of Mocaranga], the one through Monomatapa [by the Zambesi] and the other by Sofala" (I, 21). The route from Sofala to the "Monomatapa's kingdom was easier and less perilous [than by Sena, Sena mentioned]" (De Conto VI, 361), and was the "shortest and least perilous" (*ibid.* 362). "Sofala has only connection with Manica, whence its river [the Revue] descends" (III, 479). "Homen's expedition went somewhere near the Umtali of our times" (Theal's *Ethnography*, p. 336). See *River of Sofala* in the Gazetteer annexed.

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them as being the "prototypes" of the Zimbabwe Temple. The descriptions he gives of these ruins, and of the finds he made there, prove uncontestedly that they belong to a time very far subsequent to the rock-mining or prehistoric period of Rhodesia.

Point of Intrusion of Foreign Influence in Pre-Historic Times was the Sabi River and not the Zambesi River.

We read in *Medieval Rhodesia* (p. 37), "It was, therefore, a negro or negroid race of African stock, coming I do not know from what quarter, but possibly from north of the Zambesi, who made these buildings in the north-eastern corner of Southern Rhodesia [Inyanga and Umtali]."

But the question is at once suggested, Did the builders of Inyanga and Umtali prior to their advent in Southern Rhodesia erect stone structures, sink deep rock mines, practise the Zimbabwe ceremonial or possess the culture in arts and industries as evidenced on the more southern area, in their country "north of the Zambesi," from whence they had arrived? A score of authorities on Northern Zambesia and its people, from Dr. Livingstone's time to the present day, have declared that this was not the case.

Mr. Bent's evidences that the Zimbabwe culture was not of local origin or the product of any natural evolution on the part of the unaided Bantu, but was solely resultant of Asiatic influence, are overwhelmingly confirmed by every subsequent investigator on the spot, and he and they are unanimously agreed in directly pointing to the Sabi River and its watershed as having been the quarter of the earliest and most permanent contact of Asiatics with the prehistoric rock-mines' area in Southern Rhodesia, which contact was very long prior to any Magadoxo Arab settlement at Sofala in the 11th century.

The evidences which point to the Sabi waterway into the interior having been, in pre-historic times, the point of intrusion of Asiatic influences on to rock-mines' area of Southern Rhodesia, may be briefly stated to be as follows—

- (1) The Arab and Persian historians of the 9th to the

TRADITION OF COAST MOORS

12th century who refer to these auriferous regions which lie far to the south of the Zambesi, do not make a single mention of such an outstanding natural feature of South-east Africa as the great Zambesi River, the derivation of which name is of Bantu origin.

(2) The earliest historic reference to any Asiatic settlement on that river is made in 1505, when the Portuguese writers, as we have already seen, stated that the half-breed and degenerate coast Moors (Persians) had a small settlement on the Zambesi just below Sena, 120 miles from the coast, which was then the most westerly point of their intrusion.

(3) Persian and Arab writers of the 9th to the 12th century describe the Sofala coast, and the Mozambique channel and current, as far south as Cape Correntes. It is held that such descriptions cover the coast southwards as far as the mouth of the Limpopo. Moreover, the very earliest of these writers commence their descriptions of the coast far to the south of the Zambesi so abruptly and in such a manner as to suggest that their countrymen were already possessed of some considerable and intimate knowledge of these coasts and of the trade in gold carried on from these shores.¹

(4) The derivations of the name Saba [kingdom], Sabae or Saba [river, "which traverses the kingdom of Saba"], is held by philologists to be of Arabic origin, as also that of Mali or Mavi, a district containing pre-historic rock mines within the kingdom of Saba, and shown to-day on modern maps.

(5) The definite tradition of the coast Moors which from long prior to 1505 down to the present day associated the

¹ Professor A. H. Sayce, in *The Egypt of the Hebrews*, is of opinion that "Arabic historians still have something more to say" with reference to Egypt's past. This is the firm conviction of all such scientists as have examined the local evidences presented by building or mine in Rhodesia, and the internal evidences presented by the early Arab historians of the country. The author is advised that Indian records will in all probability throw great light on the activities of Asiatics in these regions in times far more remote than those of the Magadoxo Arabs or Kilwa Persians.

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Solomonic wealth in gold with the auriferous regions of the immediate hinterland of Sofala. All modern authorities, as also the records, show that this tradition relates to the rock-mines' area of Southern Rhodesia, which owing to topographical considerations could not have been approached by the Zambesi.

(6) The Sabi has always been and still is the only available approach from the coast to the pre-historic rock-mines' area. On p. 215 it is shown that even for the Manica "mines" (alluvial areas) which lie very far to the north of the original rock-mines' area, "the correct," "easiest," and "shortest route" from the coast was not by the Zambesi but by "the River of Sofala," *i.e.* the Buzi and Revue. "The River of Sofala," which is north of the Sabi, does not approach anywhere near the pre-historic rock-mines' area.

(7) The Sabi, a great waterway into the interior, wide and slow-flowing, is still to-day, notwithstanding the gradual drying-up of the sub-continent, navigable, with the exception of one point, from its mouth to within 70 miles east of Zimbabwe which lies half-way between the Sabi and the pre-historic rock-mines' area. Thus almost 250 miles of the 320 miles between the coast and Zimbabwe would be by an easy navigation of the Sabi, the natural and only approach to the pre-historic rock mines from the coast.

(8) The country lying between the upper navigable point on the Sabi and Zimbabwe is covered with chains of Zimbabwe structures, and these being on the granite formation, could only have served the purpose of block-house stations protecting the only available route from the rock mines to the waterway to the coast.¹

¹ Last year (1908) the author spent four months in travelling to and fro, with native guides and porters, on the area between Zimbabwe and the navigable portion of the Sabi River. It has always been known, on authenticated evidences, that chains of forts existed which connected the Sabi, Zimbabwe, and the pre-historic rock-mines' area. This information has now been re-examined with the result that instead of the few block-house forts, small but well-built, their number along this line of route has been found to be far greater than was

CULTURE RADIATES FROM SABI

(9) It will be noticed that the history of the Sofala regions, which commences in the 9th century, contains no reference whatever to the immense area of pre-historic rock mines approached by the Sabi River. This is also the case with the Chronicles of Kilwa, and also with the Portuguese records which contain no reference to the kingdom of Saba, excepting some traditions relating to "ancient" times, not a single place-name being given, and which, it is stated, was never visited by the Portuguese, and from which the natives are explicitly stated to have traded no gold, though it was rumoured to contain "the most ancient mines" (De Barros).¹

(10) Expert mining opinion (see pp. 95-97), based on the actual condition of the rock mines, and on the skill and methods displayed in their working, points to the original and oldest of such mines dating from some pre-historic times.

(11) No contact with Asiatic peoples so relatively recent as the arrival of the Magadoxo Arabs in the 11th century can in any way account for the Semitic impressions on the Karanga and allied peoples (see *Semitic Impressions on Natives*, pp. 396-402), or satisfactorily explain certain features which anthropologist, ethnologist, and philologist assert to have had their origin long prior to 915 A.D.

(12) The culture displayed in stone-building, rock-mining, ceremonial, and arts, was first introduced and displayed in its most perfected form in the territories traversed and approached by the Sabi River, on which area alone both the oldest buildings, rock mines and relics can be found. This culture at all points at distance from this area, whether to the north (Inyanga and Umtali), to the west (Khami, Dhlo-dhlo, &c.), and to the south (Marico,

originally stated, and that the evidences of human activities on an immense scale in some very remote period along this line of communication are overwhelming and are absolutely unassailable.

¹ No Nankin china or other imported article of the 12th to the 14th century has ever been found in any single one of the hundreds of pre-historic rock mines opened out by modern mining companies.

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Zoutspanburg, and Basutoland, as represented in the piled-up stone cattle-kraal walls), shows a shading off or decadence in construction covering many centuries, in several definable gradations until complete Kafirisation is ultimately reached and the art of building, as exemplified at the Temple, becomes dissolved into the rude stone rampart walls which crown most of the hills in these territories.

CHAPTER VIII

STONE FORTS AND PITS OF INYANGA

THE Inyanga Range lies in South-eastern Zambesia, and is a wild, mountainous country rising to 10,000 ft. (3047·94 M.) above sea-level. The district is 250 miles (402·37 K.) north of Great Zimbabwe, and 300 miles (482·39 K.) north-east of the Matoppo Hills. The Inyanga mountains cover an area extending about 100 miles (160·93 K.) from north to south, and 60 miles (96·55 K.) from east to west, and lie inland 200 miles (321·86 K.) west of the shore of the Indian Ocean. An area of this range, some 60 (96·55 K.) by 40 miles (64·37 K.), is covered with the traces of some long-forgotten people.

The hills are of both granite and blue slate. Their form is that of long lines of very high perpendicular cliffs, each line of cliffs extending for miles. The hills on the granite formation are rugged and most fantastic in shape. Those on the slate formation have graceful curves and are gently rounded. Between the lines of cliffs are rolling downs of great extent. On the summits of the hills are stone forts, possibly a hundred of these structures, while up the sides of the hills, from base to summit, are stone terraces. Round their lower flanks run old aqueducts, each one two or three miles in length. On the downs in the valleys, and on the lower flanks of hills are very many hundreds of stone-lined pits, and also in the valleys at every 50 yards (45·66 M.) are the most obvious evidences of old occupations, while almost every stone appears to have passed through human hands.

The great extent of country covered with these remains is simply marvellous. Except in the form of the huts they have no similitude whatever to the remains of the older

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buildings found in any other part of Rhodesia. In their main features they are altogether dissimilar, except that they parallel the roughly piled-up walls of old native forts and villages.

Inyanga Fort.

These ruins are situated 2 miles (3·21 K.) south-east of Mr. Rhodes's farmstead, on the comb of a ridge of a long kopje which runs from north-east to south-west. The hill rises steeply on either side, but ascends in gentle slopes at its extremities.

The ruins command a strong and strategic position and a most extensive view, and overlook valleys and downs which are literally thickly covered with remains of stone buildings and walls. The precipitous cliffs of Inyanga Mountain, 9000 ft. above sea-level, raise their gigantic forms some four miles to the east. The valley on the summit of the Inyanga Range shows a fair and fertile country stretching in one azure sea of hills and valleys to Nani and on towards Katereri's Kraal. Towards the west a similar view extends in giant steppes in the direction of Headlands and Marandelas. The southern view is narrowed by the lofty granite bluffs of York Hills, while Major Van Niekerk's farm and farmstead fills in the nearer distance. To the south-east, at a distance of some 3 miles (4·72 K.), are other ruins similar to the Inyanga Fort, only smaller and in a better state of preservation. These are on the eastern side of the summit of a balloon-shaped kopje, the northern face of which is steep and inaccessible. They are known as the Bideford Ruins, being on the Bideford farm of Mr. Rhodes's estate.

The farmstead appears to be far below in a valley, though actually it is built on the face of a hill. Numerous cascades in several valleys appear to be but streaks of white, and kraals and other objects below can only be discerned with the aid of field-glasses.

Camping out at these ruins at this high elevation (7000 ft., 2133·59 M.) one is in keen atmosphere, far cooler than the farmstead, and the nights, even in the summer, are

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found to be much colder. Mists envelop the hill at times, but they roll off and on very quickly and suddenly. The scenic effects produced by these mists are exceedingly fine and weird, and the contrast between the opaque wall of vapour and the sunny valleys below, shown through passing rifts, is indescribably fascinating. The usual daybreak view from this point is of hundreds of sunbathed rocky islands standing out from a white sea, or a fleeting Alpine view in miniature.

All the walls of these ruins are built upon a curved plan, with the exception of two, which are built upon direct lines, and one of these, which divides enclosures Nos. II and III, is obviously of very poor and possibly of later construction. In other respects the features are angular, the walls perpendicular and without perceptible batter-back, the entrances angular and not rounded, and the loopholes in the walls square. The plan closely resembles the rising terrace or "wedding-cake" style of buildings, which crown and cover the summits of hills in a portion of Western Matabeleland, but it would be unwise at present to place too much reliance on the parallelism.

A close inspection of the Inyanga Fort shows a very poor construction. The work was evidently that of old native people. Yet when one considers the presence, in the very vicinity of such buildings, of aqueducts, miles in extent, which score the faces of the hills in corresponding areas to those occupied by forts, which aqueducts show work and skill equal to those of the modern engineer, it is difficult to imagine the buildings and associated remains being the work of any native people left to its own power of initiation, but one concludes that they were carried out by natives under some supervision, possibly that of Zaide or Magadoxo Arabs who were acquainted with irrigation works, and also with the purpose of the hill terraces, both being prominent features in their own country.

The interesting and peculiar features in these ruins, as distinguished from the general features presented by ruins in Matabeleland and elsewhere in Mashonaland, may thus be stated—

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Covered entrances.—These are very numerous, both in the outer main walls and also in the divisional walls. They are all angular, and have large flat slabs of stone placed over them for roofing, and none have any grooves in the walls for side posts, as in all the ruins on the mines' area. The average measurements of these entrances run as follows: floor to roof, 3 ft. 10 in. (1.16 M.); width, 2 ft. (.609 M.) or 2 ft. 2 in. (.558 M.); length through wall, 6 ft. (1.82 M.); additional length through banquette wall, which runs round the inside of the main outer walls and some of the divisional walls, from 3 ft. (.914 M.) to 5 ft. (1.52 M.), making the total length of the covered entrances to average from 10 ft. (3.04 M.) to 12 ft. (3.65 M.). There are twenty-one covered entrances still intact, and some five others which are now roofless and dilapidated.

Loopholes.—In all walls, both main and divisional, there are square loopholes which run through the wall and banquette, thus giving them an average length of from 8 ft. (2.43 M.) to 12 ft. (3.65 M.), according to the width of the banquette. The holes are no less than 12 by 12 in. (.304 M.) in height and width, and all are fairly square throughout their lengths. These holes are found in rows at about 3 ft. (.914 M.) to 5 ft. (1.52 M.) above the ground, but they are not all exactly on the same level. The holes are fairly distributed along the walls. There is a loophole immediately on either side of every entrance.

It would be possible to shoot an arrow through the shorter holes, but natives affirm that this could also be done through those of greater length which are still intact. The total number of these holes at these ruins must be at least sixty, but as many portions of the walls have become dilapidated, there must have been far more than this number. There do not appear to have been any loopholes in the walls above the banquette walls, as possibly the banquette inside the main walls would enable any one standing upon it to see over the main walls to the exterior of the building.

Banquette walls.—The general adoption of substantial banquette walls as a means of defence, in this and similar

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buildings in the Inyanga district, is somewhat striking, especially as their employment in certain old ruins in Southern Rhodesia, Inyanga excepted, is not very frequently met with. These walls are actually part of the main outer walls, and also of some of the divisional walls, but are only carried up to a height of 3 ft. (914 M.) or 4 ft. (1·49 M.) above the ground, thus forming an elevated terraced walk round the inside of the walls, which would enable the defenders, while occupying a protected position, to see over the main wall or to throw assegais and missiles on to the enemy outside.

The original designers of the building evidently bore in mind the possibility of the outer and lower defended enclosures being captured by an enemy, for they have provided a further line of defence in a higher and central enclosure (No. IV), and this also has banquette, loopholes and small covered entrances overlooking and commanding enclosures Nos. I, III, and V, while enclosures Nos. II and III have similar defences as against a possible hostile occupation of No. I enclosure.

Absence of buttresses.—In these ruins, and in all others of the same class in this district, there is an entire absence of buttresses, either angular or rounded, which form such a prominent feature in the ruins of Matabeleland and Mashonaland. In such latter ruins the original builders extensively employed buttresses for the defence of the entrances from the attacks from the exterior, in order to provide shelter for themselves. In the Inyanga forts the lowness, length and narrowness of the entrance passages, together with the vantage ground over the interior of the exit provided by the banquette walls, evidently were the only means employed to protect the entrance, or to make its defence easy to the occupiers, while making the building difficult for the attacking party to force.

Levels of floors of enclosures.—The ruins crown the top of the ridge on the summit of the hill, enclosure No. IV being on the highest and most central point. This is surrounded on all sides by enclosures, except for 50 ft. (15·24 M.) on the

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west side, where there is a sharp declivity in the formation rock. All enclosures slope outwards and downwards from the central enclosure (No. IV) to the outer main walls of the ruins. The central enclosure (No. IV) thus overlooks and commands all the other enclosures. Its floor, which is practically level, is on the formation rock, the small natural plateau so enclosed being artificially extended by filling in soil and stones between the formation rock and the insides of the rampart walls. Its floor has an elevation above the highest and nearer portions of the surrounding enclosures to the following extent: above No. I, 4 ft. (1.21 M.); No. III, 5 ft. (1.52 M.); No. V, 4 ft. (1.21 M.); No. VI, 9 ft. (2.74 M.), and, overlooking the unenclosed space on the west side, 4 ft. (1.21 M.).

The floors of the enclosures surrounding the central and elevated enclosure (No. IV) slope outwards from the outer base of the wall of this enclosure to the inner base of the wall of their outer main walls as follows: No. I slopes 2 ft. 6 in. (.761 M.) in 91 feet (27.73 M.) towards the south-west; No. III slopes 5 ft. (1.52 M.) in 65 ft. (19.81 M.) towards the east; No. V slopes 6 ft. (1.82 M.) in 40 ft. (12.19 M.) towards the east-north-east; and No. VII slopes 9 ft. (2.74 M.) in 81 ft. (24.68 M.) towards the east, while No. II, which does not adjoin No. IV, slopes 2 ft. (.609 M.) in 63 ft. (19.2 M.) from No. I enclosure towards the east-south-east. From all the outer main walls the hill has a sharp declivity, but mainly towards the north and south.

No. I Enclosure.—This is the most westerly enclosure, and its shape is irregular; the area is 116 ft. (35.34 M.) from north to south, and 97 ft. (29.56 M.) from east to west. It is bounded from south-south-east to north-north-east by enclosures Nos. II, III and IV. The enclosure has nine covered entrances, and another can be traced in a gap on the west side. The entrance on the north-west side passes obliquely through the main wall. The present heights of the reduced walls are as follow: north, 8 ft. (2.43 M.); west, 9 ft. (2.74 M.); south, 11 ft. (3.35 M.); and east, 5 ft. (1.52 M.). The banquette or terraced walls run round the

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inside of the outer main wall as follows : north side (part only), 2 ft. ('609 M.) to 4 ft. (1·21 M.) wide, 4 ft. (1·21 M.) high (very dilapidated); west side, 2 ft. ('609 M.) to 4 ft. (1·21 M.) wide, 3 ft. ('914 M.) high; south-west, none; south-east, 2 ft. ('609 M.) wide, 2 ft. high (traceable). The number of intact loopholes is as follows : south side, eight; west, four; north, six; east, two; but others are traceable. In this enclosure are the remains of ten circular stone ruins of huts, with diameters varying from 12 ft. to 18 ft. (5·48 M.) outside measurements.

No. II Enclosure.—This is the most southerly enclosure. The area is 63 ft. (19·2 M.) from north-west to south-east, and 55 ft. (16·76 M.) from south-west to north-east. It is bounded by No. I enclosure on the north-west, and by No. III enclosure on the north-east. The enclosure has two covered entrances on the north and one on the west, and more are traceable. The heights of the walls are : north and east, 8 ft. (2·43 M.); south, 6 ft. (1·82 M.); east, 4 ft. (1·21 M.). The banquette wall runs round the enclosure on its north, west and south sides. This averages in height 3 ft. ('914 M.), with a width of from 2 ft. ('609 M.) to 3 ft. ('914 M.). There are six loopholes on the west side, none on the east, one on the north, and two on the south side. There are traces of one circular stone rim base of hut in this enclosure.

No. III Enclosure.—This is on the east side of the ruins, and is bounded on the south-west by No. II enclosure, north by No. IV, and north-east by No. V. The area is 72 ft. (21·94 M.) from north-east to south-west, and 66 ft. (20·11 M.) from south-east to north-west. There are three covered entrances to this enclosure, one on the north side and two on the north-east side. The heights of the walls are : south-east side, 5 ft. (1·52 M.) to 7 ft. (2·12 M.); north-east, 4 ft. (1·21 M.) to 8 ft. (2·43 M.); and north and west, 7 ft. (2·12 M.). A banquette wall, averaging 2 ft. ('609 M.) in width and 3 ft. ('914 M.) in height, is on the south and east sides only. There are seven loopholes on the south-east and north-east sides, two on the west, and

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three on the north. No traces of circular base rims of stone huts are to be found.

No. IV Enclosure.—This is the central enclosure before referred to (see *Levels of Floors*), and it is bounded by Nos. I, III, V and VI, and on the north side by an un-enclosed space 49 ft. (13·86 M.) wide. Its area is 61 ft. (18·59 M.) from north-east to south-east, and 49 ft. (13·86 M.) from north-east to south-west. There are two entrances on the west side, and one each on the north and east sides. The present greatly reduced heights of the walls are: south-west, 4 ft. (1·21 M.); north-east, 3 ft. (0·914 M.); south-east, 3 ft. (0·914 M.); and north-west, 5 ft. (1·52 M.). There are remains of banquette walls, from 2 ft. (0·609 M.) to 5 ft. (1·52 M.) wide and 3 ft. (0·914 M.) high, round some portions, and in other parts the banquette work is very dilapidated. Some twelve loopholes are distributed round the enclosure. The enclosure contains traces of the stone rim bases of one circular hut.

No. V Enclosure.—The area of this enclosure is 41 ft. (12·49 M.) from north to south, and 40 ft. (12·19 M.) from east to west. There are two covered entrances, one on the north and another on the west side. The average heights of the walls are: west, 7 ft. (2·12 M.); north, 4 ft. (1·21 M.); east, 5 ft. (1·52 M.) to 7 ft. (2·12 M.); and south, 7 ft. (2·12 M.). A banquette wall runs along the east side, and this is from 2 ft. (0·609 M.) to 3 ft. (0·914 M.) in width. Traces of one stone rim base of hut are to be found.

No. VI Enclosure.—This is the most north-easterly portion of the ruins. The area is 67 ft. (20·4 M.) from north to south, and 81 ft. (24·68 M.) from east to west. There are five covered entrance passages in this enclosure, the remains of six stone rim bases of huts, and twenty loopholes through the walls, while banquette walls are on the inside faces of the outer walls.

Wicklow Fort.

These ruins are situated on the highest summit of a group of three kopjes which lie to the west of Mr. Rhodes's farmstead at Inyanga at a distance by road of a little

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over a mile (1·609 K.). The ruins can be seen from the stoep of the house.

The best approach is by ascending the middle kopje, which is connected with the western kopje by a high neck of land. The sides of the hills are covered with hill-terraces, and at their base are to be seen remains of several stone-lined pits. These are in very dilapidated condition. There are decided traces of an ascent path artificially made, and rising from the neck to the summit, where are the ruins. This was formerly a steep passage with a roughly built wall on the outer and down side and a smaller one on the inner or hill side. The ruins were undoubtedly much larger than are seen to-day, as traces of walls surrounding the main ruin are exceedingly numerous.

The ruins command the valley towards the north, where, at four miles (6·43 K.) distance, is the Inyanga Police camp. Any force stationed at this fort could have effectually blocked the route along the Inyanga Range from north to south.

The main ruin consists of a very substantial enclosing wall built on the very summit of the hill, and from which at all points there is a sharp declivity. The north side is practically inaccessible. The wagon-track from Rusapi to Inyanga runs along the bases of these three hills. The area of the enclosed space is 82 ft. (24·9 M.) by 67 ft. (20·42 M.). The walls are built in curves except at the south-east corner, where there is a decided angle. This area was once sub-divided into small enclosures.

The walls are 5 ft. (1·52 M.) wide at their base, and though substantially constructed the building is exceedingly rough and poorly built except at the entrances, upon which greater care was bestowed. The present reduced heights of the walls vary from 5 ft. (1·52 M.) to 10 ft. (3·04 M.).

On the east side the main wall is built over a huge boulder some 10 ft. (3·04 M.) in height. On this boulder is one of the Wicklow farm beacons.

The most interesting feature in these ruins is in the construction of two covered entrances on the north side.

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These are each 17 ft. (5·17 M.) long, and are the longest covered entrances yet seen by the writer in the Inyanga district, that is, excepting, of course, the entrances into the stone-lined pits.

The only finds made were, diorite crushing-stone for grinding corn, a common native-made hoe, and some native pottery of no great age.

Stone-lined Pits, Inyanga.

These structures, which are so numerous throughout the whole of the Inyanga Range, are proportionately numerous on Mr. Rhodes's estate. For instance, within a small radius of two miles (3·21 K.) only from the farmstead, there can be no less than one hundred of these pits and passages, if not very considerably more. This is thought to be a modest estimate, yet it serves to demonstrate the vast number of such pits which are to be found distributed in similar, if not greater, proportion throughout an area of hill-country some 60 miles (96·5 K.) in length by 40 miles (64·37 K.) in width.

Generally the pits are found in clusters of twos and threes, or singly at 100 yards (91·33 M.) distance, but sometimes at a distance of 50 yards (45·6 M.) apart. Their position can be ascertained from a distance, for wherever a clump of large trees, mainly fig, is to be seen breaking the view on the downs and lower hill-sides, there is almost certain to be found one of these pits, and the trees, on being approached, will invariably prove to be figs of great girth growing on the floors or from the wall-masonry of the pit. The wood of this kind of fig is soft, the trees, though tall and gnarled, are not of very great age, and not being indigenous their presence will be explained by the same reason as given for the presence of the vine, olives, Indian cotton, which are also non-indigenous but which are to be found in their wild condition all over this district where are the aqueducts and hill-terraces.

The majority of the pits are either dilapidated or almost completely filled with silted soil from higher ground, and only one in twenty is in such a state of preservation



SHELTER PIT ENTRANCE, FROM INSIDE PIT.
INYANGA.

STONE-LINED PITS

as to admit of even partial examination. A pit in an almost perfect condition, undamaged, and unfilled, is only met with at rare intervals.

The pits are mostly found on the gentle slopes of low hills, also along the upper ridges of rolling downs where the soil is of a bright red gravelly nature. This is shown in the numerous narrow and deep gorges which run from kloof-like positions on the sides of the hills to the streams at the base. These deep cuttings appear to have been scoured out in some past age by water-spouts, for the great majority start at the top at spots which are waterless. The precipitous sides of these gorges bear rich red soil at least 20 ft. (6'09 M.) deep, with thin horizontal strata of claystone, very much resembling soapstone, which the natives use as material for carving, while at the bottom of these gorges water has exposed large rounded boulders of blue slate.

The original builders have sunk their pits some 9 ft. (2'63 M.) to 12 ft. (3'65 M.) in depth, with diameters varying from 16 ft. (4'87 M.) to 30 ft. (9'14 M.). The soil from each pit has been thrown up on the hill-side, making a semicircular rampart of some 20 ft. (6'09 M.) to 30 ft. (9'14 M.) in width, which increased the depth of the pit on the outer side, making the height of that of the pit correspond with that of the higher ground on the hill-side of the excavation. Where pits have been sunk on practically level ground the excavated soil has been piled all round, forming a rampart of equal width, thus bringing the top edge of the coping-stones of the pit to a level slightly above that of the surrounding veld.

Inside the pit, and forming a lining, a circular wall was built up to the height of the earth rampart, where a coping of much larger stones was made. This firmly binds the summit of the wall all round the pit. The wall is a facing of single stones only. The appearance of these walls, which in many instances, and for several reasons, have partially collapsed into the pit, shows that, at several stages in the building of the wall, soil was dragged down and rammed into the space behind the wall, for unless this had

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been done these long and heavy stones, without some support, would have levered out the face of the wall. The effect of this occasional arrangement of larger stones would naturally be to bind the wall and render the perpendicular lining and single blocks of irregular size and shape less liable to collapse inwards. The builders of these walls made no attempt to build in courses, as stones of all sizes and shapes were employed, causing large gaps and chinks which were afterwards filled in with small fragments. In no single instance has there been found the slightest evidence of any building stone having been worked.

When the pit was excavated a cutting was made in the soil some 30 ft. (9.14 M.) long, usually on the higher side of the pit, from the interior at the base, to within 4 ft. (1.21 M.) of the ground at its outer and upper extremity. The length of the passage from end to end, in a direct line, is usually about 26 ft. (7.92 M.), the length of 30 ft. (9.14 M.) being reduced by a curve invariably present in these passages. Standing in the pit and looking along the passage the curve is found to correspond, in all instances, to the left-hand upper quarter-section of a circle. The close similarity between the length of the curve and its direction, and the relative position to the pit, are most remarkable. Possibly this was intentional, in order to place the outer entrance to the passage to the lee-side, where it was protected from the prevailing cold winds and rains, in the same way that, to-day, the position of hut doors is fixed with the purpose of avoiding exposure to the prevailing winds and rains.

After the construction of this passage it was paved throughout with slabs of stones, on which and on either side parallel walls of single stones were built to an average height of 3 ft. (9.14 M.) above the paving, with a space of 2 ft. 2 in. (.558 M.) to 2 ft. 8 in. (.81 M.) between them. The passage was then covered over with large flat stones placed close together throughout its whole length, except at a point about 10 ft. (3.04 M.) from the pit, where, in almost every instance of such pits, there is an aperture or

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ventilating shaft some 14 in. (·304 M.) wide in the roof of the gallery or passage.

The similarly relative position of these apertures in the passage roofs in all the pits is also extremely striking. The floor of the passage where it enters the pit is from 6 in. (·012 M.) to 12 in. (·304 M.) above the stone pavement of the pit. The fall in the passage floor averages 8 in. (·201 M.) to 12 in. (·304 M.) in 10 ft. (3·04 M.).

No steps have been formed inside these passages, but in the circular space enclosing the upper entrance, which is very frequently formed by the continuation of the outer wall, there are often two or three shallow steps leading down from the floor of the circular space to the floor of the passage. The object of this circular space appears to have been to prevent rain-water from higher parts running into the passage, and thence into the pit. This circular chamber is deeper by 2 ft. (·609 M.) or 3 ft. (·914 M.) than any other of the circular enclosures of stone built on the upper edges of the pit, which evidently form part of the original structure, and it seems to have served as a vestibule to the passage and pit.

After the completion of the passage roof, one or two layers of large stones were piled so as to cover the cross slabs, and these extended for some distance on either side, thus completely burying the passage. On this paved floor was another circular enclosure of stone, some 20 ft. (6·09 M.) in diameter (external measurements), and in the floor of this enclosure is found the ventilating hole into the passage below. This enclosure, containing the ventilating hole, occupied the space between the vestibule and the pit, reaching to within 3 ft. (·914 M.) or 4 ft. (1·21 M.) of the edge of the latter.

The rampart of soil from the pit was supported on the outer and down side by a semicircular retaining wall, providing a flat surface round the pit. The retaining walls vary from 3 ft. (·914 M.) to 6 ft. (1·82 M.) in height. Frequently there are two retaining walls, one above and at the back of the other. The surface of the rampart was in almost every instance paved, and on it one or two different

PRE-HISTORIC RHODESIA

classes of structures once stood : (1) ordinary huts with stone rims at base to support the wattle-and-daub sides of the huts, as made by natives in Mashonaland, with diameters varying from 10 ft. (3'04 M.) to 18 ft. (5'48 M.), and stone rim bases 1 ft. 6 in. ('45 M.) in height. One half of each floor is paved, the other half is a raised floor of *daga* (veld clay) with a raised rim of *daga*. The huts are thus divided into two parts, one for the family and the other for the goats, but there is or was no partition of the hut into compartments, the rim and the raised floor never being higher than 1 ft. 6 in. ('45 M.), or (rarely) 1 ft. 10 in. ('61 M.). Only very common native articles, of to-day's make and use, have so far been found in these remains of huts. (2) Stone foundations of granaries similar to those made by natives of to-day. These are formed by erecting stones in a vertical position to carry a floor of other flat stones, which are placed from point to point of the vertical stones, thus making a raised floor with an open space underneath. On this floor was laid *daga* of about 6 ft. (1'82 M.) in diameter (exterior measurement), and a *daga* granary was built up, exactly similar to those seen in many hundreds of villages to-day, with the sticks in some instances at the Inyanga pits, still standing upright in the *daga*.

The number of the bases of circular enclosures built on the ramparts of these pits varies considerably. At some pits only two are found, and these are the enclosures containing the ventilator and the upper entrance to the passage. At other pits as many as six or eight circular enclosures are definitely traceable, but in the majority of instances four or five enclosures have existed.

With regard to the age of these circular enclosures, they appear to have formed part of the original structure, but some are of later times and are the work of squatters, for it is a common practice among the natives, on moving the site of their kraals, to build their huts round such pits as as may still be in a fair state of preservation, and use the pit for their goat and sheep kraal, where the animals would be protected from the cold winds and driving rains of these

STONE-LINED PITS

high altitudes. Instances of this practice can be seen in all parts of Inyanga.

The floors of the pits are paved with close-fitting stones which were laid on the bottom of the excavation, and experience has shown that there is nothing to be found on removing any of the paving-stones and digging beneath them.

In these structures the walls of both pits and passages are perpendicular, and the grooves in the side-walls of entrances for side-posts (at Zimbabwe the side-posts were all of stone) are altogether absent.

At No. I pit a great flat stone with straight sides, 4 ft. 4 in. (1.32 M.) long, 1 ft. 6 in. (.45 M.) wide, and 9 in. (.228 M.) deep, lies at the outer entrance of the passage. This appears to have been moved aside from the passage entrance, which it fits as if it had once been used to close it up. At some other pits similar stones have been found in similar positions.

Measurements of Pits Described.

	Pit I		Pit II		Pit III		Pit IV					
	ft.	in.	ft.	in.	M.	ft.	in.	M.				
Diameter, N. to S.	18	7	5'30	28	0	8'53	16	0	4'87	13	0	3'96
Diameter, E. to W.	19	3	5'68	27	0	8'22	16	0	4'87	12	6	3'8
Depth, N.	10	0	3'04	7	0	2'13	7	0	2'13	not cleared		
Depth, S.	8	3	2'51	6	0	1'82	8	0	2'43	not cleared		
Passage, length	40	7	12'15	30	0	9'14	30	0	9'14	31	0	9'19
Passage, direction	S.		S.		S.E.		S.S.E.					
Passage, width	2	2	.558	2	4	.609	2	1	.634	2	4	.609
Passage, height	3	2	.965	3	3	.99	3	3	.99	3	5	1'04
Width of rampart	23	0	7'01	31	0	9'19	26	0	7'92	20	0	6'07
No. of stone rims of bases of huts	4		traces only		4		traces					
No. of granary foundations . .	3		1		—		—					

Position of Pits Described.

Pit I. Near huts and sheep-fold east of farmstead.

Pit II. On face of bank behind the old plantation of blue gums.

Pit III. In paddock near fence south of gate at approach to farmstead.

Pit IV. Twenty yards (18.28 M.) east of farmstead house.

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Old Aqueducts.

One of the most extraordinary features of the Inyanga Range is the vast number of old aqueducts, some two miles or more in length, running from artificial dams in the mountain streams, and crossing from hill to hill in a most remarkable manner.

They were constructed by people who thoroughly understood irrigation work, for their levels are beautifully and exactly carried out in spite of all natural obstacles, and not an inch of fall is wasted throughout the whole length of their courses. These are a marvel to all modern engineers who inspect them. The hardest material pierced in their construction was shale or claystone.

They are all about 16 to 24 in. wide, and are about 2 ft. in depth. They have no paving or built sides.

Hill-terraces.

Perhaps the feature which most strikes the visitor to this district is the hill-terraces. These are found in hundreds throughout Inyanga.

These terraces, which are very roughly built of unshaped stones piled up in irregular lines, cover the hills from base to summit, but mainly on their northern side. As many as forty terraces, one above and behind the other, are to be found on any hill. Most of these have earth behind them, but from the inner sides of some the soil has either in the course of time been washed away or has not been placed behind the walls. They are retaining walls, and most probably were used for agricultural, horticultural, and arboricultural purposes. Similar terraces are to be found in South Arabia (see p. 203).

Many of the trees and plants found on this area—vines, figs, lemons, cotton—are not indigenous to south-east Africa, and most are of Indian origin, though most probably introduced by Zaide or Magadexo Arabs.

CHAPTER IX

THE ELLIPTICAL TEMPLE AT ZIMBABWE.

Mediæval Articles found in the Elliptical Temple, Great Zimbabwe, provide no "Valid Chronological Data" for determining the Date of the Erection of the Temple.

"*Mr. Hall states that he found in enclosure No. XV, and therefore necessarily within the same cement which I dug (for its foundations can be traced even now, and occupy the entire enclosure) mediæval Arabic glass and Nankin china; and further on Professor Maciver adds, "The date of the Elliptical Temple, then, is not earlier than the fourteenth or fifteenth century."*"—PROFESSOR MACIVER, *Mediæval Rhodesia*, pp. 73, 74.

The Nankin China Bomb.

It is but two years ago since scientific circles in England were rudely shocked on reading a cable from South Africa announcing that Professor Maciver had discovered Nankin china *under* the main walls of the Elliptical Temple at Zimbabwe. Later, the information was modified to the effect that the Nankin china had *not* been found *under* but below the level of the foundations of the main walls. But even in its modified form the intelligence was of a startling character, and sufficiently so that it caused many who were unacquainted with our ruins to pause until the actual discovery was described in detail by Professor Maciver. But to many who knew Zimbabwe exceedingly well the intelligence appeared to be somewhat humorous.

Being in England at the time, I was naturally appealed to to offer any explanation of this discovery. In reply, I

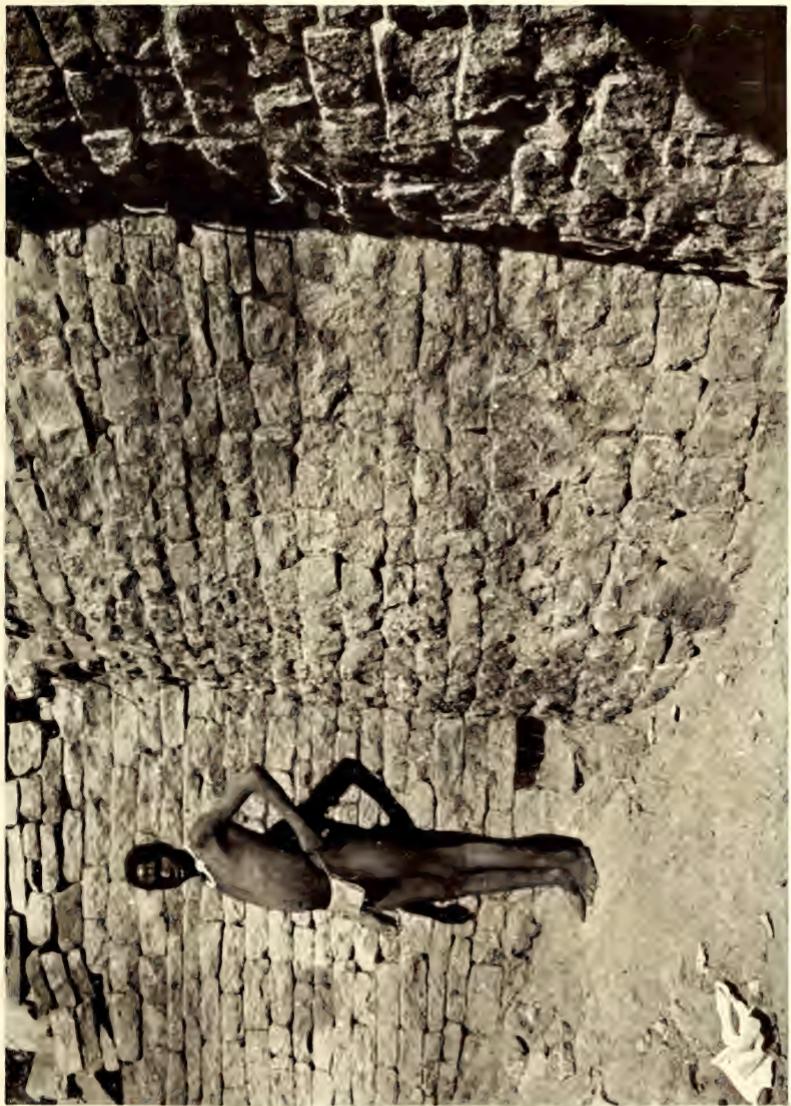
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stated exactly what can now be proved as correct, viz. that it would be impossible, for reasons I then gave, to find any mediæval articles under any of the main walls of the Temple, and that if the Nankin china were found in the Temple at any point below the level of the foundations of any main wall, it would be at some considerable distance from the main walls, and only at certain spots, described two years earlier in my *Great Zimbabwe*, where illicit prospecting for ancient relics and gold had been carried on during 1892–4, in which operations the spots indicated had been double-trenched to below the level of the foundation of the main wall. This Nankin china was eventually shown to have been found in such disturbed soil at one of the spots so indicated, and it was actually discovered in the soil and débris of the relic-hunters of 1892–4.

Nankin china and Arabic glass had previously been found in the Temple by Mr. Theodore Bent in 1891, but as he made no deep excavations his specimens were found just below the surface of the soil, and far above the old cement floorings, which he never saw and which he did not know existed.

Since Professor Maciver was at Zimbabwe I have spent some months at the ruins, and found that my original surmise, as will be seen later, was admirably borne out by the actual facts.

It will be recollected that Nankin china has been found in the Temple by Mr. Bent (near the surface), by myself in No. XV enclosure, and by Professor Maciver in No. V enclosure. The details of the finding by me of the Nankin china were published in my *Great Zimbabwe* two years before Professor Maciver visited Zimbabwe, also in numerous articles and in my lectures, wherein I pointed out the exact spot in the views and sections shown upon the screen. I was, therefore, highly amused to learn later that Professor Maciver had used my published description of the *locale* of my "find" of china in No. XV enclosure as evidence that the Temple, as in his statement quoted above, must have been erected "not earlier than the fourteenth or fifteenth century of this era."



FLOOR AND DRAIN IN NO. 15 ENCLOSURE OF TEMPLE BURIED TO A DEPTH OF 10 FEET IN DÉRIS OF SUSE.
QUEST SQUATTERS, IN WHICH WAS FOUND (1902) A PIECE OF NANKIN CHINA.

The walls are not part of the original building.
(See p. 298.)

CHINA IN LATE MIDDENS ONLY

Nankin China, 1902.

Briefly, the circumstances as to the china in that enclosure, are as follows—

Almost three years before Professor Maciver's visit to Zimbabwe, I found small pieces of Nankin china and Arabic glass at the east end of No. XV enclosure. This enclosure has walls only on its north-east, north and west sides, the other sides of the enclosure being perfectly open to the interior of the Temple, and on these sides it is absolutely impossible to state exactly where the enclosure began or ended. The nearest point of this enclosure to the north main wall of the temple is about 30 ft. (9.14 M.)

These pieces were found almost at the very top of a layer about 3 ft. (9.14 M.) thick of old Kafir débris of the usual midden type, at about 1 ft. (304 M.) or 18 in. (45 M.) on the east side of the opening of the drain which passes through the solid dry masonry of the north-east divisional wall of this enclosure (that is, north-east from the centre of the enclosure), but at 2 ft. (609 M.) above the top of the opening of the drain, and within about 1 ft. (304 M.) to 18 in. (45 M.) from the face of the wall.

The point where the "finds" were made is and was at least 8 ft. (2.48 M.) or 9 ft. (2.68 M.) from the nearest point of the "cement" (not granite cement but *daga*, or veld soil clay) structure, which has well-defined sides, and which, judging by a segment then remaining, part of which still remains, had a diameter of about 12 ft. (3.65 M.), but extending towards the south—the open side of the enclosure—where there have been no walls, and altogether away from the drain, which is on the north-east side.

On my arrival at Zimbabwe in 1902 a large tree, as photographs show, was growing out of the south side of this structure, and had completely destroyed the southern half of the *daga* (clay) structure. His Honour Judge Watermeyer's party, on visiting this spot in 1903, just when the tree was felled, calculated that the tree, judging by its concentric sap rings, was about one hundred years old. Later a party of well-known mining engineers

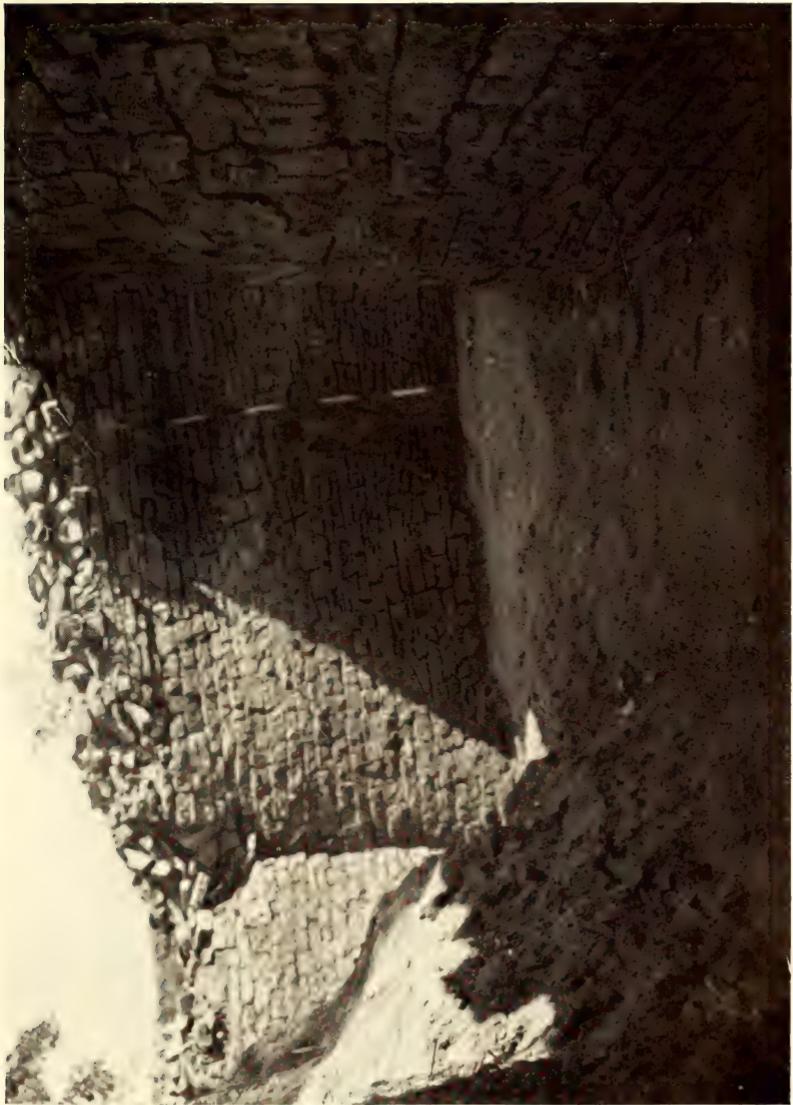
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calculated the age of the tree at about one hundred and twenty years.

It is my experience, after ten years' work in these examinations, that where a tree grows out of either granite cement or clay—for these are totally different materials—the cement also being of a far older period than the clay, the southern and south-eastern portion of such a structure will always be found to be perfectly ruined, while the other portion will be found to be in a fairly good state of preservation. This is a general experience met with everywhere in the country, both in ancient ruins in the original portions of which only granite cement is found, and in the rudely-built or rather piled-up stone girdle walls of old Ma-Karanga villages of the Selous order, where *daga*, and not granite cement is to be found.

The prevailing damp and rain winds of Rhodesia come from the south-east. It is only on the south and south-east sides of a tree that lichen festoons, orchids, miniature ferns, and mosses will be found, while the bark on the opposite side will always be found to be perfectly clean. The rain and driving mists strike upon the wet-weather side of the trees, as they did in this instance, and, coming down the broad faces of the trunks on that side, drain all the water down the roots on that side right into the body of the clay of cement work.

In this instance the rain-water for a whole century had been draining into the southern side of the structure and decomposed the whole mass, so that when the black leaf-mould which supported it on that side was removed, the clay, having become dust, streamed down away from the rest of the structure, leaving only the northern and western portions of the structure just as Professor Maciver saw it. The northern and western portions, being sheltered from the rains by the tree, were practically intact. This is within the knowledge of scores of reputable Rhodesians who visited Zimbabwe during my stay there, and who are perfectly conversant with all the circumstances. Had the structure been made of granite cement, as is the case in the lowest floors and original parts of the Temple, it would



LOCATE OF FIND OF NANKIN CHINA BY AUTHOR IN 1902 IN DÉBRIS AT 4 FEET ABOVE FLOOR.

(The walls of this enclosure (15) do not belong to the original building.)

THE TEMPLE, ZIMBABWE,

LOCALE OF FIND OF CHINA

have withstood the wet led into it by the tree and its roots very much longer. Professor Maciver visited Zimbabwe at the height of the dry season.

But to return to the glass and china. Two years before Professor Maciver's visit I had shown the *locale* of my "find" in a section given of the enclosure in *Great Zimbabwe*, p. 103.

The 3 ft. (·914 M.) depth of Kafir débris, as shown in *Great Zimbabwe*, consisted of wood ashes, charred wood, decayed ivory, ox, buck, and bird bones split Kafir fashion for extracting the marrow, a great crunching mass of broken pottery, which was old but very far from being ancient. It contained no soil, or cement, or clay work whatever.

The trench I originally made was but a small one, and was only large enough to expose the opening of the drain and 2 ft. (·609 M.) or 3 ft. (·914 M.) on either side of it, and did not extend into the interior of the enclosure for more than 3 ft. (·914 M.): that is, the trench was about 7 ft. (2·13 M.) in length along the face of the wall, 3 ft. (·914 M.) wide, and did not then go below the bottom of the opening of the drain.

This trench was left open for almost eighteen months, and during that time it was inspected by innumerable visitors from Europe and leading Rhodesians, who all saw for themselves that the glass and china could not possibly have got into that position until very long after the drain had been blocked up and buried for three feet at least in Kafir débris, which blocking up and burying had for an exceedingly long time rendered the drain altogether useless. I was led to make the trench in this position because I had, on clearing several feet depth of fallen block and Kafir débris from off the original floor of the Inner Parallel Passage, and which completely blocked up the passage, found the other opening of the drain on the opposite side of the wall.

Dr. Robert Koch, the celebrated bacteriologist, who is also an acknowledged archæologist, was staying at Zimbabwe, and on several occasions he saw the trench when

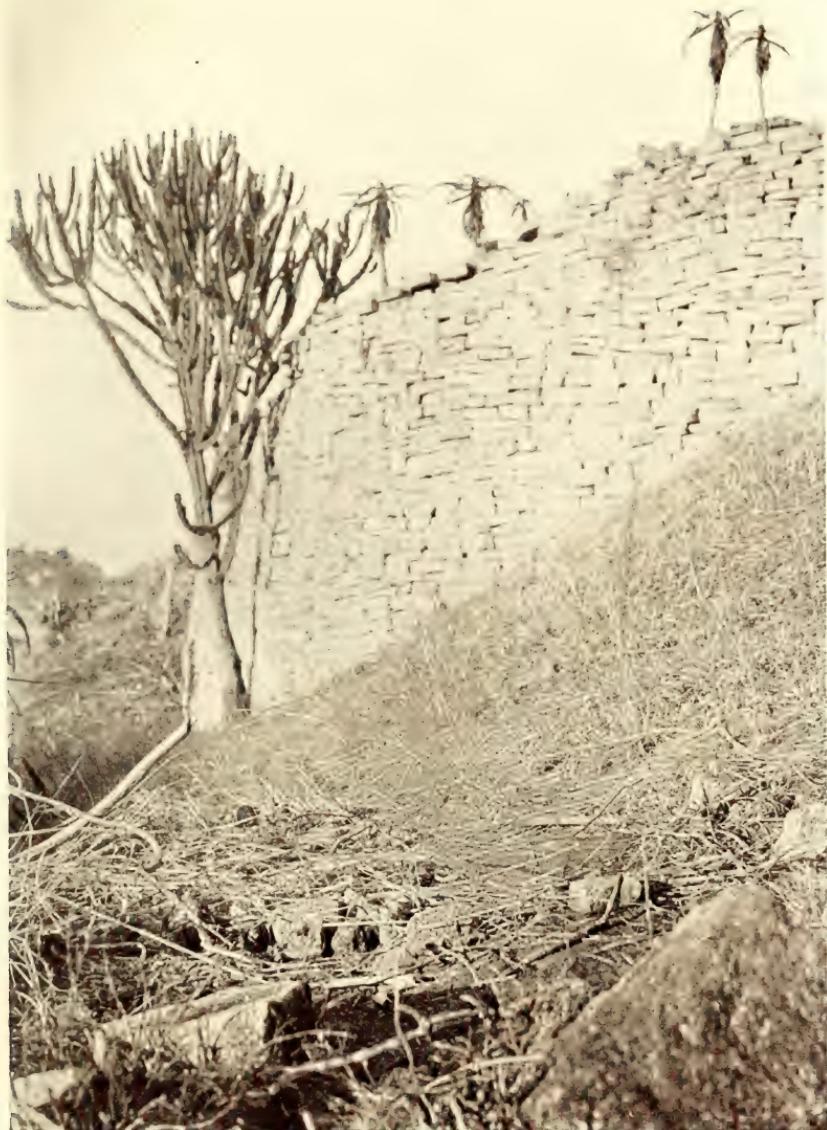
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in its original state. He was deeply interested in this particular spot, and in an interview given by him to the *Bulawayo Chronicle*, he said, as I show later, the evidences yielded by this trench conclusively proved occupations by two different types of people, viz. one, the original builders, and the other, a Kafir occupation showing a very low class of natives.

The *daga* (clay) structure on which the hut once stood did not extend to within at least 8 ft. (2'43 M.) of the drain. It most certainly did not "occupy the entire enclosure." But supposing it had done so, and there are overwhelming evidences even available to-day that such was not the case, what object could the drains have possibly served, for they are still 4 ft. (1'21 M.) or 5 ft. (1'52 M.) below the level of the present top of the clay structure? The drains were not made through solid walls simply to be buried in clay. Their purpose is obvious. They served to drain the stone-paved flooring, described in *Great Zimbabwe* (p. 264), which extended flush with the bottoms of the drains. Portions of this flooring still remain.

Moreover, the actual walls of the enclosure do not show in any course, joint of blocks, interstices, or on the faces of the blocks, a single speck of any clay structure ever having been laid up against them. The various stains and discolourings on the faces of the blocks were not caused by contact with any such clay, the discolorations on the lower faces of the walls being those caused by ashes and bones, which can still be found wedged in the courses and joints of the blocks up against which the layers of Kafir midden débris were banked by some later occupiers.

Professor Maciver definitely asserts that the china and glass found by me were found in the clay structure. As already shown, my trench was distant 8 ft. (2'43 M.) or 9 ft. (2'74 M.) from the structure. The assertion contains the elements of its own refutation, for Professor Maciver cut a trench 5 ft. (1'52 M.) wide, 10 ft. (3'04 M.) deep, and at least 20 ft. (6'09 M.) long, *right through the clay structure and its foundations*, of which I never removed a single cubic inch, but what did he find?



WALL OF LATER AND DECADENT BUILDING.

No gold or phalli found in such structures, but Nankin china found.

ZIMBABWE VALLEY.

NO CHINA IN GRANITE CEMENT

He found no Nankin china, Arabic glass, or gold (as to gold, see later), but only what Professor Doncaster¹ and others, and I found later in his trench through the structure, viz. ox and buck teeth, and pieces of wood in such an excellent state of preservation that it would be altogether preposterous to suggest as being of the same age as the main walls of the Temple. Since this trench was made and public interest was awakened, scores of recent visitors have found more of such teeth and wood right under the very centre of the clay structure.

Daga (Clay), not Granite Cement.

As stated before, the structure in No. XV enclosure was made of what is known as *daga* (clay made of veld soil), and was not made of granite cement. The clay can be seen to be composed of the red top soil of the Zimbabwe valley, with which a small quantity of grey soil from ant-hills, and cow dung was mixed to set it firm. This is the mixture used for plastering the wattle sides of huts. No *suku* (lime) was used in its composition. It appears to have been brought into the Temple in *squandas* (baskets with rounded bottoms), and as each load was added to the pile some one with a wet hand smoothed it over, just as Kafirs to-day add the *squanda* loads of *daga* to the wattle sides of their huts. They invariably smooth each newly added patch of *daga* on the walls with a hand dipped in a pot of water always at hand. This is done notwithstanding that later an additional coating of *daga* has yet to be added over the already smoothed portion, which is not the final smoothing and polish, which is always made when the very last coating of *daga* has been laid on. The object of the smoothing is

¹ Professor Doncaster raised this point at the R. G. Society's debate, the Professor stating he recognised Mr. Maciver's trench in the view thrown on the screen.

Professor Maciver: My trench did not run under that (the small) wall ; it started from that point.

Professor Doncaster: Yes, so that you could see the wall was built upon clay containing bones and teeth.

Professor Maciver: The statement will pass.
(R.G.S. Journal, April 1906, p. 345.) See No. XV Enclosure not the Lowest Corner of the Temple.

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to close all the small holes, so that white ants cannot pierce it. The structure took days to make, for most of the *squanda* loads were perfectly dry and set before the next load was added, and now to-day, as soon as Professor Maciver's trench exposed the internal parts of the structure to the action of the air, these same lumps become detached and flake away in the century-old *squanda* loads.¹ Moreover, the lumps were pegged to their neighbours by rough sticks of mahobohobo, the bark markings of which wood became transferred to the clay. The clay of this structure is exceedingly rough, coarse and common, and is full of pebbles and stones.

On the other hand, the finely-ground or sifted granite sand cement, of which the original floors of the Temple were made, contained no veld soil, and no ant-hill soil or cow dung was used in its manufacture. The reports of Dr. Hahn, the leading metallurgical chemist in South Africa, on samples of this cement, were published by me some years ago. In this cement *suku* (lime) is used, and this was obtained from Suku, a place about 2 miles (3·21 K.) south of Zimbabwe. Cement was always laid in huge masses at one and the same time. It does not flake off in *squanda* loads, nor was it ever pinned together with wood. Professor Maciver appears not to have been aware of these facts, but the slightest comparison of the clay in the structure with the cement on the original floors ought to have aroused his suspicions.

Further, Professor Maciver was aware that great quantities of gold ornaments had been found lying on the lower granite cement floors of the Temple. If, therefore, he dug right through what he evidently took to be the usual Zimbabwe granite cement, he ought to have been surprised he found no gold, for he found none.

¹ These rounded and smoothed *squanda* loads of clay are described by Professor Maciver as "steps." But these "steps" can be seen in the centre of the pile of clay loads, and in every part of it from base to summit. His statement that I admitted I had removed a part of this structure is divorced from fact. I removed no part of it, nor have I made any such admission.

NO GOLD IN CLAY STRUCTURES

But gold is never found on native *daga* structures or floors, nor is it ever found in connection with *daga*. In the rudely piled-up stone girdle walls of the old native kraals of the Selous order, not a single gold bead will ever be found, and yet Professor Maciver declares the Selous order kraal to be the prototype of Great Zimbabwe.

Who built the Structure?

From the first it was obvious that the Ma-Karanga hut which stood on the clay base was of a far more recent age than the original buildings of the Temple. This opinion was based on the inspection of hundreds of remains of undoubted Ma-Karanga huts found in deserted stone-fenced villages in Mashonaland which are very far from being even mediæval in age, some not two hundred years old, if so much. All that remained in 1902 of the actual hut was some loose blocks, evidently taken from walls, lying flat on the ground but in disorder, they having been once laid in two courses on the top of the clay structure. They were out of all relative position owing to the roots of the tree having ventilated the clay—more soil than clay, below, from which had sprung a jungle of bushes—which had completed the displacement of the blocks.

These circular layers of stones are frequently found in native villages which are built on soil and not on the bare formation rock. They are used as floors of huts, but more frequently as floors for granaries, *daga* being spread over them to keep off white ants. Such are never found in ruins, except on the tops of the Kafir débris banks, which banks result from occupation of ruins by subsequent squatters long after they had become abandoned, and the lower and original floors buried. At the conclusion of my description of this hut given in *Great Zimbabwe* (p. 156) I inserted a paragraph as follows: "Mr. Alfred Drew, Native Commissioner for the Victoria District, who arrived in this country in 1890, and is a recognised authority on Ma-Karanga buildings, expresses his entire agreement with the above description of old native clay huts, also with the conclusions concerning them."

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While these blocks were still lying there, that is, before the tree was felled, the spot was visited by French and German archæologists, by members of the Rhodesia Scientific Association, by Public Works' Department Surveyors, and by old pioneers who were thoroughly conversant with native customs, and never once by any of these was the slightest suggestion made that the hut was other than ordinary native, about a century old, or that it was "ancient" in the sense as applied to the main walls of the Temple. The Ma-Karanga, Ba-Rosie and Amangwa of the neighbouring villages claimed it as "an old Ma-Karanga hut," while all the natives disowned all knowledge of the origin or even purpose of the other cement (not clay) structures in the Temple.

"Change in Culture."

But here we have a very clear instance of a decided change in culture between two different classes of occupiers of the Temple, and in demonstrating this to be the case, I do not speak at present as to any change of race. While working at this enclosure, I complained to the Chief Medical Officer of Rhodesia, Dr. Fleming, C.M.G., who was visiting Zimbabwe, that the foul odour of the soil in this part of the Temple was making me ill. He attributed my illness to the presence of uric acid, which strongly charged the débris lying outside the hut, all of which had been deposited within a few feet of the sides of the hut, burying the clay structure and the two drains through the dry masonry of the divisional walls of the enclosure, in which débris I had found the glass and china.

Shortly afterwards, Dr. Robert Koch, of Berlin, examined the spot, and I made the same complaint to him. He said it was dangerous for me to work there, as immediately outside the hut and round its base the débris was very strongly charged with uric acid, resultant of the occupations by natives of a very low type. He restated this opinion as to the low class of natives occupying this hut, later in interviews given to the Press.

But what inferences can be drawn from these conditions,

A CHANGE IN CULTURE

in addition to the many direct evidences as to this hut not being "mediæval" or "contemporary with the main walls of the Temple," or "occupying the entire enclosure," as asserted by Professor Maciver?

On the one hand, it is admitted that the original builders of Zimbabwe thoroughly understood and appreciated the need of sanitary arrangements, and knew how to lay out an elaborate system of drainage. Their drainage systems were most carefully and skilfully designed and carried out, having been planned before the 15 ft. (4·56 M.) and 20 ft. (6·09 M.) wide walls were erected. The drains in all instances pass through the dry masonry of the walls *above* their foundations, and all these drains were lined throughout with granite cement *before* the immense walls over them were carried upward. The cement linings have disappeared, only traces of it being found in the joints of the dry masonry. These drains and the various catchment areas within the interior, each catchment area being cut off from the other areas, and each area having its own special drain to the exterior, which in the heaviest African downpour would have prevented the flooding of the Temple, all bespeak knowledge, foresight and skill in securing cleanliness. Their knowledge of building and of mining on so vast a scale showed them to have been possessed of capacity and intelligence far beyond those of any modern Bantu people. The lower granite cement floors of the original builders are clean, and not at all injurious or even unpleasant to work, these being absolutely free from ashes, animal bones, filth, and noxious acids. On the lower floors, scattered in profusion, "as plentiful as nails in a carpenter's shop," are gold bangles, gold sun-images, and other articles such as quantities of carved phalli, and soapstone with patterns not known among the Bantu, with designs of microscopic size almost unnoticeable to the human eye, all bespeaking a skill and chasteness altogether absent in the Bantu.

On the other hand, filth deposited at hut doors, drains blocked up and buried, not a single gold bead, no phalli, no finely carved stonework, nothing but the débris found

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in modern native villages, and which they never dream of removing to a distance. "All sanitary arrangements, even of the simplest kind, were unknown and uncared for, as the sense of smell was much duller with these people than with Europeans, and an impure atmosphere did not affect their health" (Theal, VII, 441). Every work on the Bantu points out that these people were never known to have possessed even the most rudimentary ideas as to sanitation.

That these two practices of cleanliness and filthiness were indulged in by one and the same people at one and the same time, and contemporaneously with the erection of the Temple, is a suggestion which can never be accepted, save possibly by a complete stranger to South Africa and its races. The obvious "change of culture" evidenced to have existed at Zimbabwe has yet to be satisfactorily explained.¹

China found in No. V Enclosure.

The piece of Nankin china found during Professor Maciver's visit to Zimbabwe was discovered in No. V enclosure. It was not found *under* the foundations of the main wall of the Temple. The discovery in such a position of any mediæval article would appear to be an impossibility for the reason that almost every one of the many explorers at Zimbabwe have in the first instance sought to find out what was under the main walls, and the reports dealing with the systematic examinations of every few yards' length of main wall are quite unanimous in affirming there is nothing but virgin soil on which was once a granite cement bed which has become decomposed and mixed with the

¹ In further evidence of a "change of culture" we have the phalli, the decorated soapstone beam, the carved soapstone bowl, and beautifully worked gold bangle, all found 18 in. (457 M.) below the foundation of the divisional wall immediately below the drain, and separated from the china by a deep layer of soil, a roughly paved floor, and a 3 ft. (914 M.) layer of native débris. None of such articles as the phalli, beam, bowl, and gold bangle have, to my knowledge, ever been found in any way associated with the type of *daga* hut structure as that which stands above the paved floor (see *Great Zimbabwe*, pp. 103, 263, 264). As shown later, this wall is not part of the original structure of the Temple. This fact should be borne in mind.

SERIOUS OMISSIONS

virgin soil, the walls being carried round on the cement bed.

The china was found in the interior of the Temple at a distance of 37 ft. (11·27 M.) from the south main wall, and at a depth of about 18 in. (·45 M.) below the present level of the surface of the soil, and not more than 1 ft. (·304 M.) "below the level of the foundation of the main wall," but at 37 ft. (11·27 M.) north-north-east from its north face, this point being practically at right angles from the south main wall.¹

This discovery, which has been treated so seriously by scientists in Europe, and by the general public, both at home and in South Africa, has been construed in the highest scientific circles in a totally wrong sense, and implicitly relied on by reviewers and critics, every one of whom, not ever having seen the ruins, has unfortunately been allowed to remain under the impression that the china was found below and even under a main wall.

But how did the small bit of china get there? Was it a single piece? Were other fragments of china found with it on the same level? What was the condition of the soil in which it was found? On these points, in his reference in *Mediæval Rhodesia* to this discovery, Professor Maciver gives no information whatever.²

In 1902 I reported to the Government I had found on my arrival at Zimbabwe that, between 1892 and 1894, the whole of the interior of the Temple on its southern side from the western entrance to the Conical Tower (on this line the Nankin china was found), and especially the Sacred Enclosure, had been most methodically double-trenched

¹ Professor Maciver has given no absolute or relative position of this find. Professor Gregory, who was shown the china, believes it to be of nineteenth-century English make. Others who saw it at the time pronounced it to be "Zimbabwe picnic china," of which quantities are always being found here by visitors on the look-out for "relics." Hundreds of picnics have taken place at the Temple. Still, for the purpose of the argument, the fragment may be taken as being Nankin china.

² Professor J. L. Myres draws attention (see p. 376) to a similar omission as to articles found by Professor Maciver at other ruins.

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from end to end, and down to and including the virgin soil which was below the level of any floor of the Temple. Further, that these operations were evidently carried on by gold and relic prospectors, who had cared nothing for the preservation of the ruins, and who had broken up the whole of the floors, removed flights of steps, cut through cement platforms, and destroyed other structures, and had mixed up beyond recognition of their original order, débris of all ages with virgin soil dug up from below the level of the foundations of the main wall.

It is a notorious fact that before 1894 any one who felt inclined could go to Zimbabwe, and with crowbar, pick and shovel, prospect for gold, and that what one then found he could keep or sell. There is a list of such prospectors, with the amount of gold each claimed to have discovered. The piles of the washed soil of these prospectors, who were "whole-hoggers" with a vengeance, still lie near the Temple. But Professor Maciver, who was unaware of these well-known facts, saw no suspicious traces in the arrangement of the soil, but coming across the handiwork of these vandals has based archæological conclusions on the results of their spoliation, which was effected in 1892.

On page 48 of my *Great Zimbabwe* will be found the following: "Humorous incidents are not absent in the work of the excavation (in the Temple). For instance, in a trench in the Sacred Enclosure . . . a common clay pipe of English make was found intact at a depth of over 3 ft. (914 M.). At another spot at a similar depth a very late brand of soda-water bottle was found."

Later, a Birmingham-made umbrella-frame, and the wire netting and brown glass of a cognac bottle, were discovered in the same enclosure (No. V) where Professor Maciver found his piece of china, *and at a greater depth than the point where he states it was discovered.*

Also, on p. 48, "The question *aliquid novi ex Zimbabwe* can in two senses be answered in the affirmative. Such modern articles found at depth afford only another proof that the soil in the interior of the Temple has been turned over and over again by unauthorised prospectors for ancient

NO CHINA IN ROCK MINES

gold and relics." This was written almost three years before Professor Maciver paid his visit to Zimbabwe.

An isolated piece of china found under these circumstances can hardly provide "valid chronological data" for determining the date of the erection of the Temple.

See *Stray Native Articles not in their original position*, p. 263.

Nankin China.

Though Nankin china was traded for gold by the early coast Arabs, yet the evidences gained both from ruins and alluvial areas favour the argument that the bulk of the Nankin china found in these territories was introduced by the Portuguese (1505–1760), who were at that time trading with China, and also largely trading this china to Europe. The Portuguese records state that this article formed part of their goods of barter in trading with the natives, and this at a time when the Temple at Zimbabwe was reported to be already "very ancient" (prior to 1505). The records further show that boxes of this china, which comprised "tea-things kept for show, plates, cups," were given to chiefs as presents.

It is found very plentifully only in Mazoe and Manica, into which districts alone the Portuguese penetrated, and also in the vicinity of old Portuguese forts, where it appears to have been an article in general daily use. In the ancient mines area south of these two districts this article is very rarely met with, and only in infinitesimal quantities in the débris of subsequent squatters, and is never associated with the oldest type of relics found on the lowest floors of the oldest ruins, nor has it or any other imported article of the twelfth to the fifteenth century ever been found in any single one of the hundreds of pre-historic rock mines on the area approached by the River Sabi, which have been opened by modern mining companies.

Mr. Bent, on p. 367 of *The Ruined Cities of Mashonaland*, states, "Massi-Kessi [in Manica] and its neighbourhood are rich in reminiscences of the Portuguese past; the new fort [1891] was built out of the remains of an old Portuguese

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fort, around which you may still pick up fragments of Nankin porcelain, relics of those days, now long since gone by, when the Portuguese of Africa, India and the Persian Gulf lived in the lap of luxury, and fed off porcelain brought by their trading ships from China."

Quantities of Nankin china and Celadon pottery are, says Mr. Bent, to be found in the old Portuguese fort at Gibliah on the main Bahrein Island in the Persian Gulf. This fort was built about 1506 (*Southern Arabia*, p. 18).

No Nankin china has been, or ever will be, discovered under the main walls of the Temple. Mr. Bent found his few pieces of Nankin china, Persian faience,¹ and Arabian glass near the surface, as he made no deep excavations.

No more Nankin china has been found over the entire Zimbabwe area than would barely make half-a-dozen soup-plates, for that was their shape and size. In the Temple there were not sufficient pieces to make half a soup-plate. Evidently this china was not in general use by the subsequent squatters at Zimbabwe, and the original occupiers of its lower floors were ignorant of its existence.² These few plates must have been mere isolated specimens regarded as curiosities. This remark applies also to the whole of the ruins area, 700 by 600 miles (1126 by 965 K.), lying southwards of Mazoe and Manica, and where only a few fragments can be found in late middens in any ruin.

¹ *Fayence*, or *faience*, majolica ware, derives its name from the Italian town of Faenza, where were the principal factories of glazed enamel earthenware. This manufacture originated in the East, and the art was imported during the fifteenth century into Italy by the Moors of Spain. M. L. Solon, *A History and Description of Italian Majolica*. The Persian fayence found in Mashonaland was, of course, imported from Persia.

² As further shown, pp. 277-288,—*Burials within the Zimbabwe Temple*, “The Earliest of all objects ever obtained from Zimbabwe,” and *Mr. C. H. Read's Report* destroy the basis of Professor Maciver's *dating of the Temple*,—Nankin china, Persian fayence, and thirteenth or fourteenth century glass beads did not arrive at Zimbabwe until the subsequent squatters occupied the Temple; that these imported articles are only to be found in and above the midden piles of subsequent squatters, and that no such article has ever yet, or ever can be, discovered in connection with the phalli and other relic of the oldest Zimbabwe type.



RUIN OF LATER AND DECADENT PERIOD IN WHICH NANKIN CHINA WAS FOUND.

ZIMBABWE.

(See p. 253.)

To face p. 252.]

CHINA IN NATIVE STRUCTURES

But in Mazoe, Umtali and Manica, to which alone the Portuguese records refer, Nankin china is to be found in hundredweights, and so thickly in those districts that Mr. Telford Edwards said he could trace the operations of the Portuguese "as easily as following a hare in a paper-chase."

Nankin China used as Native Razors.

So much so is Nankin china a surface find at Zimbabwe that the natives scratch the piles of débris in certain native kraal stone rampart structures at Zimbabwe to find it. On clearing away the midden débris of subsequent squatters, which buried and obliterated the main north entrance of the Temple, I came on two or three small pieces of this china. My natives watching me putting them carefully in my haversack and thinking I wanted more of it, said they could take me to a spot where I could get plenty of it without wasting time looking for it. They took me to a rudely constructed native structure of stones in the valley, and on tearing up tufts of grass and disturbing the soil to less than six inches in depth, found several bits of Nankin china. This china they called "ivory." They said they were in the habit of using it as razors for shaving their heads, faces, and arm-pits! Professor Maciver's assistant dug a trench in this structure, but he failed to find gold ornament or phalli, or any of the oldest form of Zimbabwe relic, for such a building could have contained no such relic, for it was put together in a style which could not be called building, and was erected late in the subsequent squatters' period.

CHAPTER X

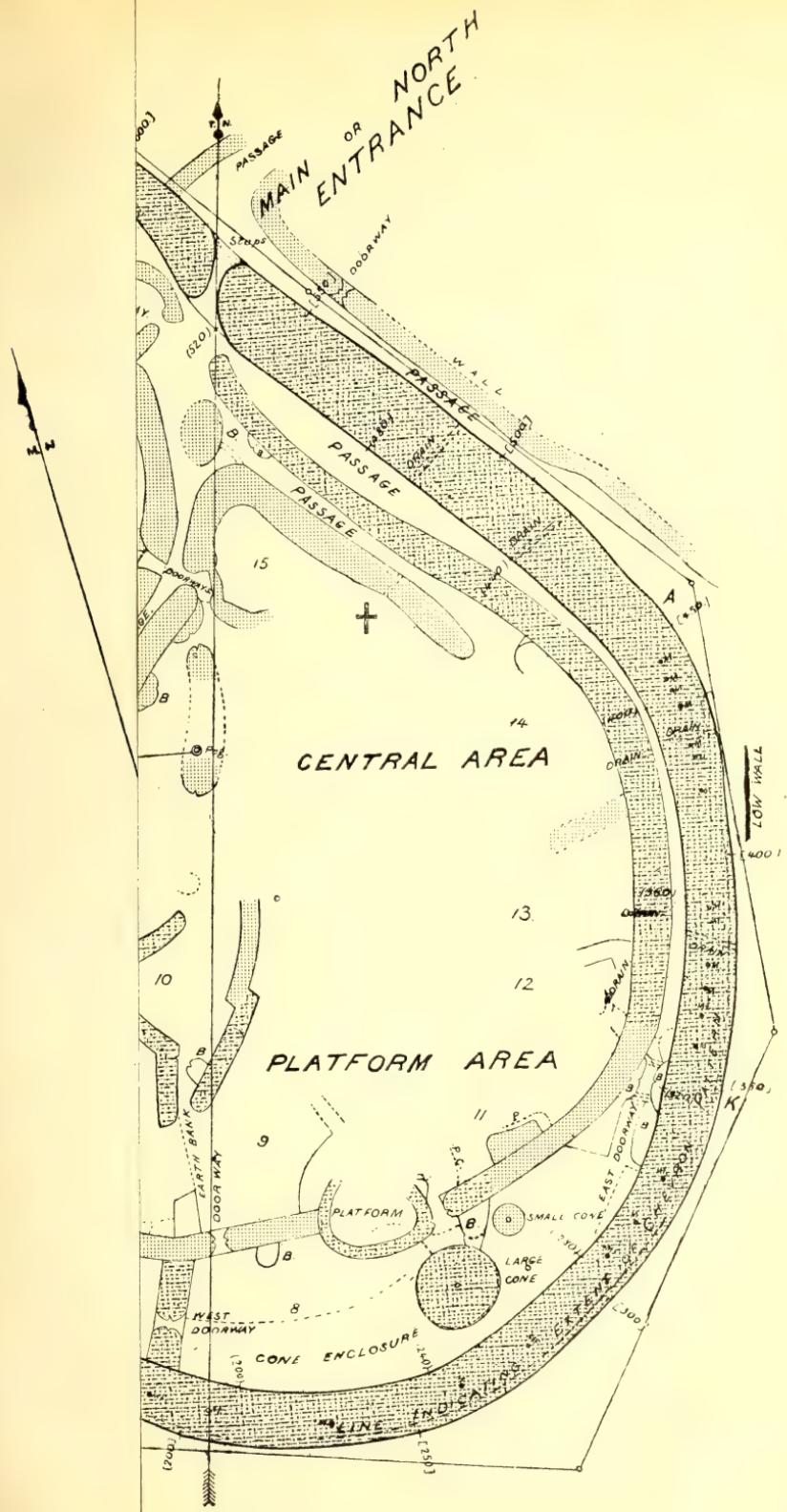
THE ELLIPTICAL TEMPLE AT ZIMBABWE—*continued.*

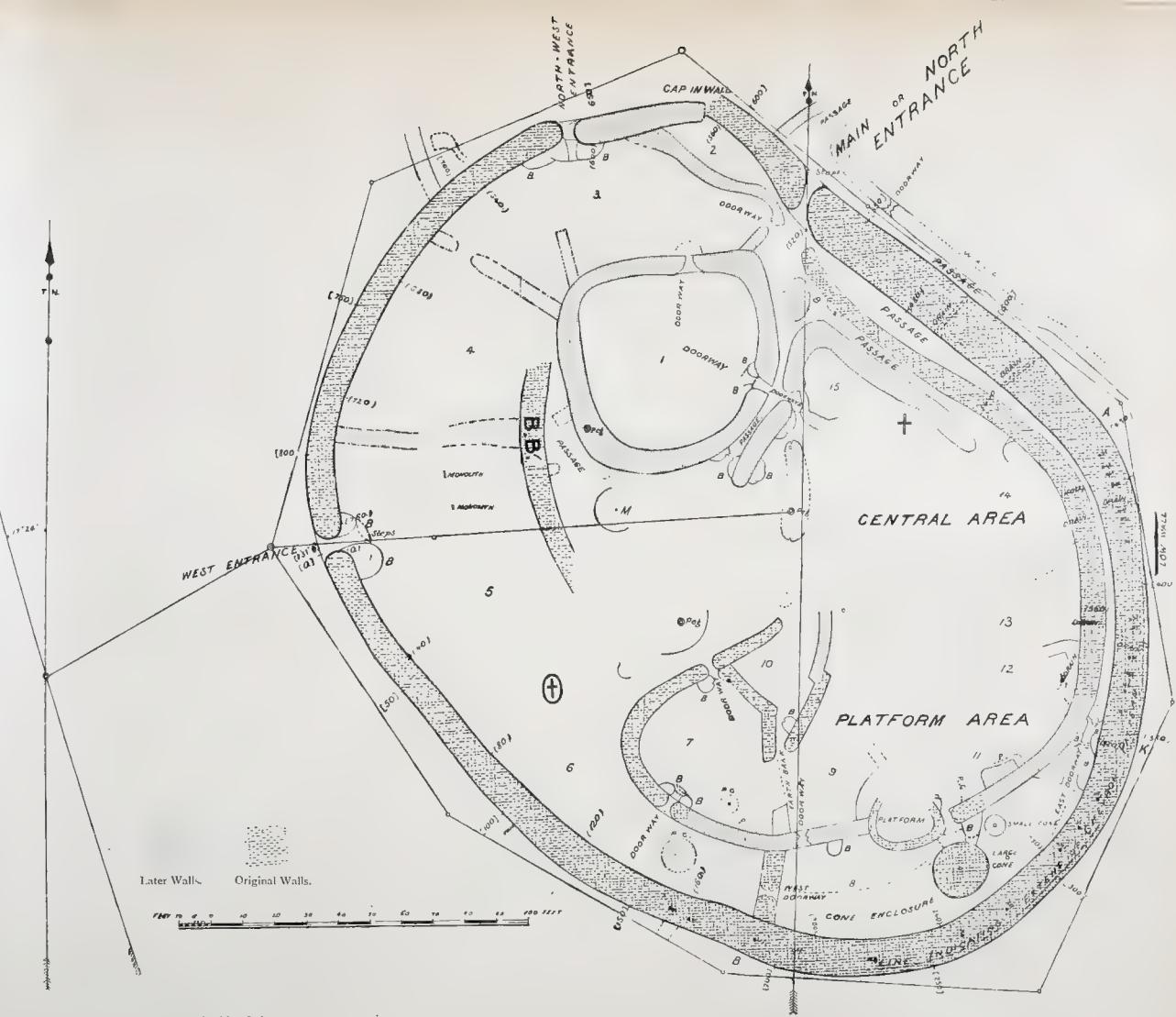
The Foundations of the Main Walls of the Temple.

IT has already been stated (p. 248) that it would be impossible for any explorer ever to find Nankin china, or any other imported article of post-mediæval date, or any native article similar to those found with the clay rubble in No. XV enclosure, under any of the main walls which encircle the Temple, or under certain few only of the internal walls which formed part of the original structure.

This, at first sight, may appear to be a formidable statement, but it is nevertheless a perfectly correct one. The actual foundations of the main walls have been most carefully examined by several gentlemen possessing archæological qualifications. Early in 1903 I made holes to below the foundations both inside and outside the Temple. The holes were all at equi-distant points round the entire building, about a score being made in the interior and forty at the exterior bases of the wall. The holes were left open from April to October 1903, and all were refilled before the rainy season started. In the meantime the soil under the walls was examined by several acknowledged scientists who were most anxious, if it were possible, to discover some “dating material.” Our united efforts in this direction proved unavailing. However, *Professor Maciver, as can be seen by his trenches, never attempted to reopen any one of these trial sections, nor did he sink any other holes anywhere near the bases of the encircling main wall.*

But in 1902, on my arrival at Zimbabwe, I found, as





Nankin china finds.

1905.

1902.



PLAN OF THE ELLIPTICAL TEMPLE, GREAT ZIMBABWE,
Based on Plan prepared by Mr. Franklin White, M.M.I.E., Bulawayo.

GOLD IN GRANITE CEMENT

reported in *Great Zimbabwe*, pp. 141, 142, "Streams of water, during storms of real African violence, have worn deep channels along the bases of some of the walls, exposing the foundations which bridge across the holes, the water causing the decomposition of the cement bed of the foundations. One of these water-worn holes was 14 ft. (4·26 M.) long, and extended under the wall for an average distance of from 4 ft. (1·21 M.) to 6 ft. (1·82 M.) Some of these water-worn holes under the bases of the walls contained damp and moisture all through the dry season, especially those on the south side of the walls, where the holes were protected from the sun."

The large hole referred to was on the exterior of the south side of the Temple, right under the main wall. The wall, being exceedingly well built, had kept intact in its position, forming a horizontal bridge, only a few blocks from the internal part having fallen down. The natives informed me the hole had been there for some years. It was lined with moss and filled with large ferns growing luxuriantly in the damp and shaded cavity, which was large enough to have accommodated half-a-dozen people with shelter. No known Ma-Karanga wall, however well built, could possibly have bridged over this cavity, for it must have fallen in at once.

But the holes sunk at the bases of the main walls as before described, and this water-worn cavity right under the wall, provided ample opportunity for a very complete examination of the foundations.

The bed upon which the wall is built is purely artificial. The original builders cleared a level surface upon which was laid a fine cement (not *daga*, clay), which has now become completely decomposed. The cement from one point was submitted for analysis to Dr. Hahn, Professor of Mineralogical Chemistry at South African University, and the certificate of assay states—

"This was a sample of powdery, earthy mineral. One half of it has been assayed with a view to the presence of gold, and was found to contain 1½ dwts. of gold per ton.

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"The other portion has been analysed as to its chemical composition, which was found to be as follows—

Silica	73·88%
Oxide of iron	17·83%
Alumina	8·98%
Lime	Trace

"This powdery earth is most probably formed through the disintegration of the slag and furnace ashes, which make an excellent foundation for the floor of a large building. On exposure to the action of the weather it crumbles to powder."

It is to be doubted whether so well-known and highly-qualified mineralogical chemist as is Dr. Hahn, could give an identical report on the *daga* mud (veld soil and cow-dung) used at the Ma-Karanga hut in No. XV enclosure. It is, therefore, not at all surprising that Professor J. L. Myres should state, "I am not so clear that his [Professor Maciver's] proof of the age and composition of the cement deposits is complete" (*R. G. S. Journal*, April 1906, p. 344).

But, in passing, it should be noted that Dr. Hahn's report implies the existence of an occupation at Zimbabwe very long prior to the erection of the main walls of the Temple, and of people who extensively worked in gold. Tons of gold furnace slag used in the foundation beds and floorings suggests local industries long prior to the erection of the main girdle walls of the Temple. Further, Zimbabwe is on the granite formation which yields no gold, the nearest quartz formation being some miles distant. All gold at Zimbabwe must have been artificially imported.

"The Excavator's Primary Axiom."

Unfortunately, Professor Maciver could not have read pp. 449, 450 in the Appendix to *Great Zimbabwe*, where the particulars as to the formation rock under the Temple are given. I observed the excavator's primary axiom so thoroughly that a section of the lie and dips of the formation rock under the Temple could be prepared.

In five holes sunk within the temple and six within a few

BED-ROCK EXAMINED, 1901-3

feet of the exterior wall, rock was reached. In No. V enclosure three holes opened out rock at 8 ft. 7 in. (2·61 M.), 10 ft. 1 in. (3·07 M.), and 12 ft. 7 in. (3·83 M.), in the central area at 12 ft. 1 in. (3·67 M.). In No. VI enclosure 11 ft. (3·35 M.) was sunk, a rod showed the rock at 2 ft. 6 in. (·761 M.) below that point. Here it was impossible to sink deeper owing to the sand being soaked with water. Also in No. VI, 14 ft. (4·26 M.) was sunk, but wet sand and rising water prevented further sinking. On platform area 12 ft. (3·65 M.) was sunk with the same result, a second hole on this area at 13 ft. (3·95 M.) filled up with water to a depth of 3 ft. (·914 M.) within a few hours in the dry season, when all these holes were sunk.

At the exterior of the building, and within a few feet of the main walls, the six holes opened out formation rock, thus making *eleven* holes reaching rock, with another in which the position and lie of rock was ascertained with rods. In every instance, depth, fall and direction were noted, for example : "Formation rock disclosed at 12 ft. 7 in. (3·83 M.) with fall of 7 in. (·177 M.) in 3 ft. 6 in. (1·06 M.) towards east-north-east" (p. 449).

Roughly speaking, the Temple stands on soil over formation rock which dips from the north and west towards the east from 5 ft. (1·52 M.) below the foundation at the north and western ends to 10 ft. (3·04 M.) and 14 ft. (4·26 M.) at the eastern end, where it again rises to 6 ft. (1·82 M.) at 30 ft. (9·14 M.) from the exterior face of the east main wall. On the north side, at 30 ft. (9·14 M.) from the exterior face of the wall, where the rock outcrops, it dips to 6 ft. (1·82 M.) under No. XV. enclosure, and dips further to 12 ft. 7 in. (3·83 M.) at inside the south-eastern main wall, and rises to 5 ft. (1·52 M.) at 20 ft. (6·09 M.) south of the exterior of the wall.

Thus there is a pool of water or swamp on the surface of the formation wall under the Temple, and an underground stream in rainy seasons from north and north-west along a gully in the rock which clears the water into the Mapudzi, or the Temple branch of it. The sand above the rock, as that also in the sixty holes made near the

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Temple main walls, had never been disturbed since the day it had formed there, and contained no objects of any sort. All the seventy odd holes were left open for six months at least, when they had to be refilled owing to the approach of the rainy season. Not one of these was reopened by Professor Maciver, he sinking three holes only at the Temple which went down to bed-rock, and these nowhere near the foundations of main walls, consequently his report on the Temple is most incomplete.

No. XV. not "the Lowest Corner of the Temple."

This enclosure is stated by Professor Maciver to be "the lowest corner of the Temple"; also he says, "the foundations of all the other buildings in the Temple are above this cement [*daga*, not cement] and rubble formation [of the hut in No. XV enclosure]." This is an exceedingly grave error. In company with a Government Surveyor, I inspected Professor Maciver's trench in this enclosure, and the levels showed that the enclosure which contains the tower, and in which most of the older form of relics were found, was "the lowest corner of the Temple."

Mr. D. G. Hogarth: The most important point in Mr. Maciver's paper, from an archaeologist's point of view, is the section which he has cut [through the rubble of the foundation of the hut] at Zimbabwe. I should be glad if Mr. Maciver would be very precise, and tell us whether it is certain that he actually found pottery under foundations, or whether he found it where these had been removed.

Mr. Maciver: Absolutely certain!

Mr. Hogarth: That is what I want to know, because on this pottery depends a very great deal. I would remind the meeting that if the lowest building in the elliptical Temple goes, the elliptical Temple goes with it, and the bottom is knocked out of the Semitic theory. It is on the elliptical Temple that the Semitic theory centres [this is by no means the case]. It also rests on a great deal of vague generalisation" (*R. G. S. Journal*, April 1906, p. 343).

But the expression "under foundations" is not very

MEANING OF 'ABSOLUTELY CERTAIN'

definite. Did Dr. Hogarth mean foundations of main walls, or of divisional walls, or the clay rubble on which the hut of subsequent squatters once stood? Further, what did Professor Maciver intend when he replied, "Absolutely certain"? Had he and Dr. Hogarth the same location in mind? It is patent both were referring to two totally distinct locations. Professor Maciver obviously meant under the clay structure of which he had been speaking, and through which his section, which he was then describing, passed. Dr. Hogarth intended under the foundations of the main encircling wall of the temple, or of a divisional wall which could be considered to be as old as the main wall, and therefore a part of the original structure, so that if the china or pottery were found under such circumstances the china or pottery would, of course, date the Temple.

1. If under the foundations of the main girdle wall of the Temple, then such a find of native articles as was made by Professor Maciver, in No. XV enclosure, would be impossible, for, as was shown earlier (p. 263), no mediæval or post-mediæval article can or ever will be discovered in such a position. Of course, it must be remembered that even nineteenth-century articles have been found at greater depth than the foundations of the main wall (see p. 263), but this was in the disturbed soil of explorers, and at some distance from any main wall.

2. If under the foundations of divisional walls this may or may not be impossible, as each divisional wall must be considered by itself. Some few are undoubtedly as old as the encircling main wall, others are obviously of a much later date. No mediæval or post-mediæval article will be found under the former, certainly no well-preserved ox teeth and pieces of wood such as Professor Doncaster and others, and myself, found under the clay and cow-dung rubble of No. XV enclosure, and which common-sense forbids us to compare in age with that of the main encircling wall.

Moreover, in *Great Zimbabwe*, p. 264, I state, "The position of the east wall of this enclosure (No. XV), and the

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fact of its covering some older enclosure, seem to point to it as not being a portion of the original building." This was also Mr. Franklin White's opinion. The grounds on which this conclusion was arrived at were (*a*) that two phalli, fragments of ornamented bowls, soapstone beams, and a gold bangle, were found at least 2 ft. (.609 M.) below the foundation of the eastern divisional wall, and (*b*) that the construction of this wall, and also the walls of the South Passage and No. I enclosure, shows that they are of later date than that of the main encircling wall (see p. 272).

3. If under the *daga* rubble was intended, then very probably such articles would be found, for the rubble on which the hut stood is an ordinary native mixture, and in or about it native articles would probably be found. This compound contained the ox teeth and wood, which it would be preposterous to claim as being of the age of the encircling main wall. The tree, the ox teeth, and the wood, date the clay rubble as being slightly over one hundred years old.

I agree with Professor Maciver in one respect only, that No. XV was lower than the neighbouring Central Area, but this area is on an artificial level of a later date. In *Great Zimbabwe*, p. 265, is the following: "On one surface of the highest portion of this area are slight walls of shallow foundations and poor construction, built across soil [I should have added, 'which covers older walls'] and blocks thrown promiscuously together, and probably the blocks and the débris of some buried structures." Since that was written I discovered a well-built wall 5 ft. (1.52 M) below, and this further robs No. XV enclosure of any claim to being "the lowest corner." I have shown in *Great Zimbabwe* that the Central Area has been more transformed by subsequent squatters than any other part of the Temple, as it is the sunniest spot within the walls.

No. XV the Wettest Part of the Temple.

As explained in a previous note in this chapter, the water from the catchment area formed by the higher ground and exposed formation rock at the north and north-west

NATIVE POTTERY: DIVERSE OPINIONS

exterior of the Temple, finds its way through the sand lying on the dip of the formation rock under the Temple, right under No. XV enclosure, where there is a depression in the rock which in the rainy seasons always holds water. When this depression is full the water runs off towards the south-east into the main lower depression which runs east. When Professor Maciver sank his hole in No. XV enclosure he struck, as he says, virgin sand. This was actually mud, the whole bottom soil above the sand was also exceedingly wet. The sand and soil in this hole are still decidedly sloshy. The depression under this enclosure must be full before any water can drain away, consequently this is the wettest part of the Temple, for at every other point there is a sharp fall. The declination of the rock between the south end of this enclosure and the south-east main wall is fully 7 ft. (2·13 M.) to 10 ft. (3·04 M.). It is little to be wondered that huge trees started to grow in this enclosure. Their seeds were in all probability brought there in the veld soil *daga* of the structure in No. XV.

The "ceremonial level," Professor Maciver's explanation for the structure on which the hut stood, was raised to place the hut out of reach of the damp.

The Pottery alluded to by Dr. Hogarth.

But pottery was found by Professor Maciver "under" the clay structure, and it is to this Dr. Hogarth refers. I have some of the identical pottery with me. It is finely glazed, of old Ma-Karanga make, and altogether different in material, glaze, and design to that of any pottery of the Ba-Rosie. The pottery was not found in the wet sand, but, as Professor Maciver states, in the wet soil above the sand on a level with the lower part of the *daga* mass. The pieces I and others found were not below, certainly not directly *under* the *daga*. Still it would have been quite natural for them to be found under the *daga*.

Mr. C. H. Read, of the British Museum, was perfectly correct when he stated that native articles are less easily dated than imported articles. The diverse opinions of experts in Europe as to native pottery sent for examination

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clearly show this to be the case. Some specimens taken from present villages have been reported upon as being "only three or four centuries old," other specimens taken from positions in which they must have lain for centuries have been pronounced to be "quite modern," while the rings of rude herring-bone pattern round certain pots are said to have been worked with tools when actually they had, in the instances referred to, been worked by the two thumb-nails at the same time, a native method. No one not possessing a first-hand knowledge of old and modern African native pottery, and of the general distinctions in material, form, glaze and design peculiar to each tribe, can possibly, as Professor Maciver so readily has done, pronounce any final opinion as to the age of any particular class of native pottery. Some tribes are noted for the excellence of their pottery, but with others it is the very reverse. The pottery used by a chief would be superior in make to that used by his people.

To any one casually inspecting native pottery it may appear as of one and the same make, save, perhaps, in the colour of the clay of which it is made. But there are very wide differences in the pottery, both in the forms of the pots, the clays used, the order and number of smearings, and the materials of which the several smearings are composed, and in the ornamentations and colourings, in each of which items tribes most usually differ considerably.

The Ba-Rosie pottery, for instance, is of a rougher and more substantial make than is that of any known period or tribe of Ma-Karanga. The patterns are large, bold and entirely geometrical, and are coloured yellow, red, or black, with the designs incised and painted in strong contrast to the general colour of the pot. Thus in Ba-Rosie pottery black patterns are laid on yellow or red grounds, red patterns on yellow or black, and yellow patterns on black or red. The encircling bands of coloured ornamentation on Ba-Rosie is never less than from $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. (·031 M.) to 3 in. (·076 M.) or more in depth.

The pottery of the Ma-Karanga has its own peculiar characteristics, which are easily discernible on examination.

MODERN ARTICLES AT DEPTH

It is most generally found to be black with a highly polished surface. The bowls and pots have a lighter and more delicate appearance, and the excellent quality of clay selected, and its most thorough manipulation, enables it to be much thinner in make, yet even stronger than thicker pottery of coarser make. The coloured decoration is altogether absent, while the pattern is more neatly executed, and is enclosed in encircling bands of from only $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (·012 M.) to 1 in. (·025 M.) in depth. Further, the old Ma-Karanga always decorated their pottery with protruding bosses of shapes and designs peculiar to themselves (see *Great Zimbabwe*, pp. 129, 130, etc.).

Stray Native Articles found not in their Original Positions.

Reference has already been made (p. 250) to the discovery of such modern European articles as an umbrella-frame, soda and cognac bottles, and clay pipe at lower levels than Professor Maciver reported the Nankin china was found in No. V enclosure of the Temple. The depth at which these articles were found was explained in *Great Zimbabwe*, p. 48, as due to the double-trenching operations of the unauthorised gold relic hunters of 1892-4. This explanation was published by me almost three years before Professor Maciver's visit to Zimbabwe.

But the finding of native articles out of their normal positions can also be explained. In the rainy season the interior of the Temple was always, and to some extent still is, a quagmire, the rain making large pools, and until 1904, when all my trenches were refilled with earth, and runs-off were made to dispose of the water, the interior was at times almost inaccessible to visitors during that part of the year.

In the dry season the case was otherwise. The muddy floors all became baked and cracked by the intense heat, the cracks being several feet in length, only one inch or three wide, but going down for 4 ft. (1·21 M.) or 5 ft. (1·52 M.). This is a feature seen anywhere on the veld during the time when the ground is drying after a rainy season. Some articles of a later date must have gone

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below on the cracking of the soil, others must have been washed down by rains; for instance, a Guinness's stout bottle was found many feet below its "normal position," but these could not be used as "valuable dating material" for determining the period of the erection of the Temple. Again, decayed trees leave deep holes.

But as to the pottery there is a special reason, supposing that any were found below its normal position, for not placing much reliance upon it as dating material. The soil in the Temple is wet, it absorbing the water from the sloshy sand always lying on the formation rock. The thin, finely-made and highly-glazed pottery of the Ma-Karanga would, in such wet soil, once the sherds were in a vertical position, work its own way downwards owing to its weight, to almost any depth, just as comparatively modern iron nails have worked their way to below the huge monoliths at Stonehenge.

It may be urged that, if this were the case, why did not the pottery of the original builders get into such positions? The explanation is simple. Their floors were solidly made, not of *daga* mud, but of granite cement, and they were intact until the roots of giant trees, not more than one hundred and forty years old, pierced the floors, or until 1892 (ten years before I went to Zimbabwe) when the floors were broken and the interior down to the virgin soil was double trenched by the vandals who prospected for gold relics. Further, the original occupiers had clean floors, their débris was removed outside, and their drainage system kept the Temple perfectly dry.

But moisture is a good test of well-made pottery. The pottery of to-day is far inferior to the very old Ma-Karanga pottery. This industry has sadly deteriorated, and this is the case with every Bantu tribe on coming in contact with white people. It is only the very old pottery of most excellent make that can stand being buried in damp soil for a century. The pottery of to-day, lying exposed in heat and rains, in a very short time falls to sand, or its broken edges become rounded. The exceedingly old pottery is found in shingle of the streams of Zimbabwe as

WALLS SHOW CHANGE IN CULTURE

fresh and as sharp-edged as when it was made, but the pottery now made will in very short time turn to mud if left in water. The natives admit they cannot now make as good a quality of pottery as we find even in the upper layers of the subsequent squatters. There has been no "gradual evolution" in this direction, but a most marked decadence.

Hundreds of picnics have taken place at Zimbabwe. English-made china and glass bottles lie thickly strewn in all directions, and if Staffordshire crockery were found four or five feet below the surface, as it might, for the reasons pointed out earlier, very well be found, it could not be used as "valuable dating material."

But the Aardvaark is responsible for putting things underground, though not in the interior of the Temple, for he makes a hole of 5 ft. (1.52 M.) and 6 ft. (1.82 M.) deep in a single night, and in walking about the Zimbabwe Valley one has to be very careful where one treads, lest one be landed down bodily into one of their many excavations.

The Temple Walls evidence "Change in Culture."

In Chapter IX it was proved that there existed in the finds made within the Temple very positive evidences of a decided "change in culture" between the period of the original occupiers and that of the subsequent squatters. In Chapter VII it was further shown that Inyanga and Umtali ruins were undoubtedly of a much later date than the Zimbabwe Temple, and that between the erection of these two distinct and severally individual and specialised types of building there was also an obvious decline in culture, in mining, building, and arts.

No one who has seen the Temple can possibly deny that the superior class of building construction is displayed in what are the original and oldest parts of the Temple. These undoubtedly are the encircling main walls, the tower, platform, and certain only of the divisional walls, as to which there is no question of their being both the finest constructed, and also the oldest and original parts of the Temple.

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It is equally, and as perfectly obvious to any one, that the poorly built walls demonstrate that they are of a much later date, and that they were erected after the original style of construction had fallen into desuetude. There are certain of the divisional walls, buttresses, and other structures which are obviously lacking in the essential features of the undoubtedly older walls. These later walls differ even among themselves, and show that after the original style of construction had first fallen into desuetude there was a further marked decline in culture in progress until the careless and tumble-down styles of Ma-Karanga building (such as is seen at Umtali) is reached.

The walls themselves prove the existence of different periods at the Temple: that is, different periods in each of which there was a distinct form in culture, the earlier period marked by the highest form of culture and the subsequent period by culture in its decadent stages.

Professor Maciver declines to recognise "periods" at the Temple, and he even includes the later buildings of Inyanga and Umtali with the much older Temple in "one period." But, at present, we are concerned only with the Temple. Before pointing out the archæological evidences as to "periods" which are to be found in the Temple, it may be well to notice what Mr. Theodore Bent reported in *The Ruined Cities of Mashonaland* concerning periods at the Temple. He says—

"These poorer walls [certain of the divisional walls within the Temple, and which he specifies] are not of the original period" (p. 150).

"[The older walls] are much better built than the secondary walls" (p. 157).

"Constructed by the same race at a period of decadence when the old methods of building had fallen into desuetude" (p. 139).

"Some of the walls are of the best period of workmanship" (p. 132).

"We find two periods [of building] side by side at Great Zimbabwe, also we have them scattered all over the country" (p. 132).



ORIGINAL WALL.

LATER AND DECADENT WALL.
THE TEMPLE, ZIMBABWE.

MR. BENT'S FIELD SURVEY

Referring to certain northern ruins, including ruins in the Umtali district, Professor Maciver's "prototype" ruins, Mr. Bent states—

"They are presumably of a later and inferior date, for the courses and stones are irregular, and correspond to the later constructions at Zimbabwe" (p. 132).¹

"[Zimbabwe and the older ruins] are quite distinct from the more modern structures in Makoni [Umtali] country" (p. 100).

"There is no evidence of any antiquity about them [the "prototype" ruins in Umtali district]" (p. 355).

"A remarkable instance of two periods of building [Zimbabwe and Umtali]" (p. 112).

Mr. Bent spent more time at Zimbabwe than did Professor Maciver, and his attention was mainly directed to the Temple. Moreover, as shown on p. 206, Mr. Bent had a great advantage over Professor Maciver, for he had travelled extensively in the country long before the days of railways and *trains de luxe*. He had seen a score of the Zimbabwe type of ruins which Professor Maciver never saw. He also examined many of the old Ma-Karanga stone rampart villages of the Selous order, none of which, except the "prototype" ruins at Umtali, Professor Maciver saw. Mr. Bent also saw ruins at Umtali, all of which he emphatically stated were of far more recent date than the Zimbabwe Temple. In expressing this opinion, and he states the grounds on which he bases it, he but reflects the unanimous opinion of Native Commissioners, missionaries, the oldest settlers, and of the many authorities from Europe who have made special journeys to inspect these ruins. Also, Mr. Bent's opinion is amply confirmed by the traditions of Makoni's people as to the actual occupation as original residents of certain of these so-called "prototype" ruins at Umtali.

Further, and this is important, Mr. Bent who was recognised as a most experienced and reliable archæologist of the first order, by his field-survey in regions in Zambesia

¹ See section (2) p. 205, *Inyanga and Umtali and other later ruins elsewhere*.

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which Professor Maciver never approached, was compelled to come to the conclusion that at Zimbabwe and elsewhere there was no evidence that there had been a "natural evolution" in the culture on the part of the Bantu. He claimed there had been in pre-historic times an introduction of culture in the arts, and a decided decadence when the foreign influence ceased. This was Mr. Bent's working hypothesis, and all the evidences, both archaeological and ethnological, are overwhelmingly in its favour, and it moreover carries with it the unanimous support of all authorities on the Bantu.

On the other hand, Professor Maciver, judging by the number and positions of his trenches,¹ devoted his brief stay at Zimbabwe mainly to the Valley of Ruins, a conglomeration of structures of all ages, from that of the Temple itself to that of the old Ma-Karanga stone rampart villages, under the foundations of which latter Nankin china might well be expected to be found.

Moreover, Mr Bent's work was his own personal work. This was not always the case with Professor Maciver; for instance, he was absent at Inyanga when the explorations at Umtali were being carried out, also on several other occasions when certain articles were found by his labourers.

Again, Professor Maciver asserts there were "no reconstructions" in the Temple. But before showing that this is a travesty of the actual facts, we will once more refer to Mr. Bent, who reports as to certain walls within the Temple, and which he locates.

"Rough reconstructions of older walls" (p. 150).

"Restorations of ruined walls."

"Rough rebuilding of an older structure."

"Rough copies of some old walls which had fallen, and are wanting in some of the essential features of their originals" (p. 157).

But Mr. Franklin White, the ex-President of the Rhodesia Scientific Society, examined the Temple and

¹ In 1906 I followed on Professor Maciver's spoor at Zimbabwe, examined all his trenches, and entered them upon my working plans.



ORIGINAL WALL.

RECONSTRUCTED PORTION OF DECADENT PERIOD,
THE TEMPLE, ZIMBABWE,

MR. BENT ON PERIODS

inspected all my trial sections. It was Mr. Franklin White who made the first reliable survey of the Temple, and his plan appears both in *Great Zimbabwe* and in Professor Maciver's book. He has devoted a decade of years to the study of our ruins' question, and has seen innumerable ruins, and is the recognised authority on the N'Natali, Dhlo-dhlo, Khami, Regina, and other ruins, which buildings he has excavated, surveyed, and reported upon to scientific societies, including the Anthropological Institute.

Concerning periods and reconstructions at the Temple he states—

"Some walls have evidently been pulled down and roughly rebuilt by Kafir occupants, but, as a rule, the original endings can be recognised."

"In several places, foundations of walls can be seen which run under those of the main [internal] building. These are apparently the remains of older constructions cleared away to build the larger and more important one."

Further, dealing with periods at Zimbabwe, Mr. Franklin White, in the Anthropological Society's journal, *Man* (July 1905, p. 106), speaks of my detailed descriptions, given in *Great Zimbabwe*, of such periods and reconstructions, as "apparently well-founded."

But the evidence at the Temple of periods in building described by Mr. Bent, Mr. Franklin White, and also in my *Great Zimbabwe*, are both above ground and under ground. Those walls above ground can be seen to-day to offer ocular refutation of Professor Maciver's assertion that there were no reconstructions and no periods. Yet it is most extraordinary that the trial sections sunk by Mr. Bent and myself, and examined by Mr. Franklin White and very many other qualified authorities, which spots are located in *Great Zimbabwe*, and where further evidences were found as to reconstructions and later walls, Professor Maciver did not reopen one of such trenches, nor did he cut a trench anywhere near any one of those positions.

In this connection, it is a most striking evidence of the gradual decadence in building as time elapsed, that from

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many entirely independent sources comes the identical report, viz. that in all cases of reconstructions, additions, enlargements, super-imposed walls, etc., noticed in any ruin in any part of the ruins area, 700 x 600 miles (1126 x 965 K.), the later constructions are invariably greatly inferior in workmanship to those of the original portion of the buildings.

The Temple Walls Contrasted.

WALL OF ORIGINAL PERIOD.

(1) Prepared and levelled ground for foundation, no Kafir or imported article of fourteenth to sixteenth century being found underneath.

(2) Presence of drains.

(3) Dressed granite blocks carefully sized and selected, laid with great precision, and fitting together very closely, regularity of courses, equal distribution of joints, careful packing in courses in the internal parts of the wall. The use of "through stones" for binding walls near their summits, skilfully

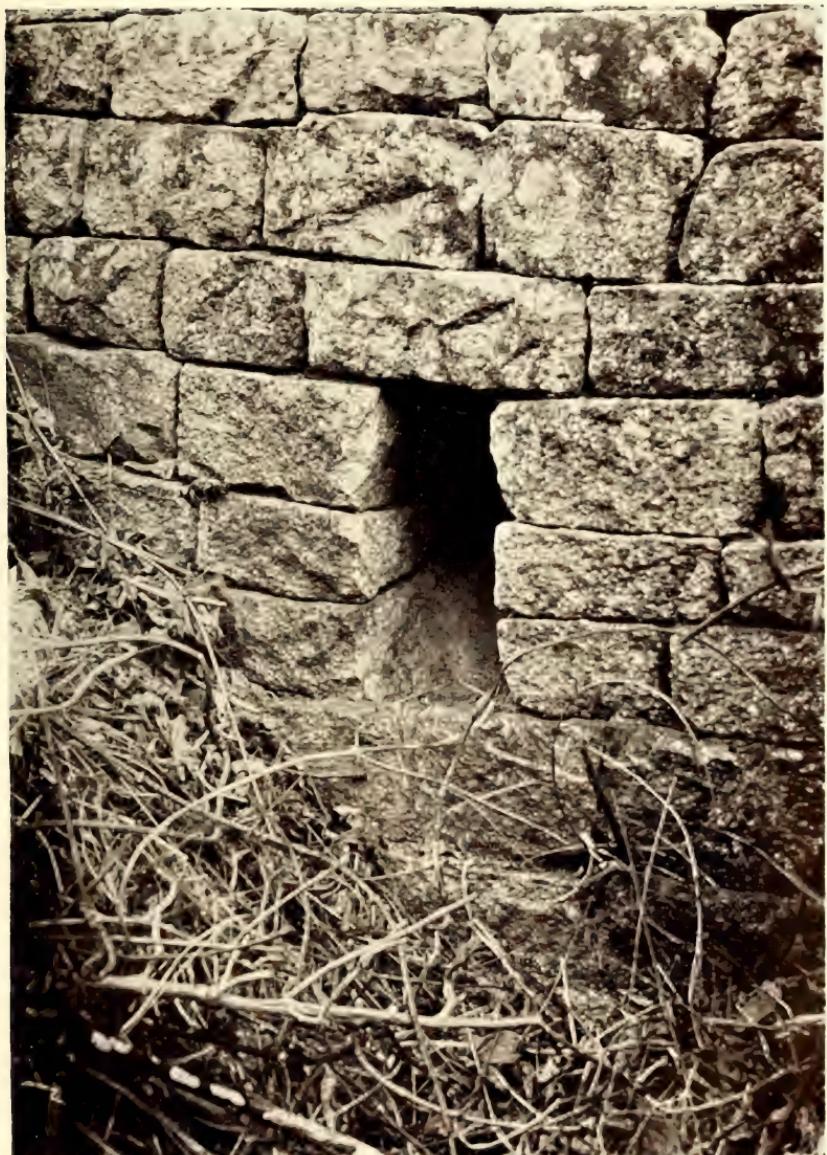
WALL OF DECADENT PERIOD.

(1) Foundations run on unlevelled ground and follow inequalities of surface. The later decadent period walls passing over old Kafir débris heaps, and also crossing at angles over remains of older walls, also over veld soil imported into the Temple to form level ground, this burying older structure.

(2) Complete absence of drains, the later walls being built on débris under which the old drains are blocked up and buried.

(3a) Blocks of all sizes and shapes, mainly untrimmed, blocks taken from older walls, the time-worn face being sometimes turned inwards, features are both curved and angular.

(3b) Stones of all sizes and shapes, flat and rounded being mixed indiscrimin-



EXTERIOR OF DRAIN IN MAIN WALL.
THE TEMPLE, ZIMBABWE.

ORIGINAL AND DECADENT PERIODS

WALL OF ORIGINAL PERIOD *(continued).*

worked out batter-back of wall from base to summit 26 ft. (7'92 M.) to 32 ft. (9'74 M.) in height, mural decoration, monoliths on summit, features all curved and rounded.

(4) Associated with granite cement and *suku* (lime), the lime being brought from about 3 miles (4'72 K.) distance.

(5) Associated with profusion of gold, also with phalli and the oldest form of relic.

[As shown in Chapter VII, the above description illustrates a wide divergence from the Inyanga and Umtali-style of building.]

But there are other evidences above ground as to periods and later walls. These are seen in the waving of the courses of the later walls, which cross over the remains of older walls which supported the upper wall, the sides

WALL OF DECADENT PERIOD *(continued).*

ately, gaps between stones, internal portions composed of rubble stones thrown in anyhow. The use of old monoliths for building material, these having, as can be seen, been once in vertical positions, also of stone beams which were once used as lintels and roofing. The use of lumps of *daga* from old Kafir huts. Features generally angular. Native pottery sherds used in abundance to rudely level up stones into position.

(4) Associated with *daga* (veld mud mixed with ant-hill soil and cattle-dung).

(5a) Associated with very old Ma-Karanga articles, no gold or phalli; (5b) common Kafir midden refuse, no trace of gold.

[As shown in Chapter VII, the above is an accurate description of the Inyanga and Umtali style of building.]

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at such points sinking in the earth. For instance, this is seen on the south side of No. I enclosure, where the remains of an old foundation passes under the later wall.

As stated previously, some of the divisional walls are of the original and earliest period, others most certainly are not. The shadings on the plan of the Temple show at a glance what walls are original, what are of doubtful age, and what are later.

The wall marked B. B. is undoubtedly original, yet it stands isolated and absolutely purposeless, both its ends are broken, and up to it, and on soil banked against it, are poor walls of much later construction, while at a depth of a few feet below the foundations of the poorer walls are to be found quantities of dressed blocks which once belonged to an older structure.

There are evidences, too, as shown in *Great Zimbabwe*, that the enclosing walls of the now celebrated No. XV enclosure are not as old as the main encircling wall of the Temple, and on this point Mr. Franklin White agrees with me (*Man*, July 1905, p. 107).

The walls of No. I enclosure, as Mr. Bent has shown, and as my further examinations have proved, are not a portion of the original building (*Great Zimbabwe*, p. 226).

Blocks fallen from the summits of the main walls are to be found below the levels of the later walls, and with this block débris two stone birds and several phalli were found.

Instead of there being no periods and no reconstructions in the Temple, as asserted by Professor Maciver, there are indubitable evidences that after the original occupiers had departed, a succession of later peoples (the question of difference in race is not now being discussed) have arrived and *found the buildings in ruins*, and that the internal walls interfering with their convenience or ideas, have pulled down, reconstructed, enlarged, subdivided, and otherwise rearranged the interior to suit their own accommodation, using the older walls as quarries.

These evidences are demonstrated by the actual walls, but they are supplemented by the relics and finds from either the cement or the *daga* floors.



ENTRANCE (ANGULAR) TO NO. I ENCLOSURE.
THE TEMPLE, ZIMBABWE.
(Of later and decadent period construction,)

ORIGINAL OCCUPIERS ‘WIPED OUT’

It is, therefore, strange that Professor Maciver, making no excavations and sinking no trial trenches near the main walls, was able, so he claims, to reconstruct in his own mind the plan of the original internal walls of the Temple.

Exodus of the Original Occupiers.

The original occupiers, who must have occupied the Temple for centuries, appear to have been suddenly “wiped out” by some barbarous people, for there are undoubted evidences either of “wiping out” or sudden departure shown at the Temple and also in the rock mines. Gold ornaments most skilfully wrought were evidently prized by the original occupiers. But these are found lying about the granite cement floors broken and destroyed. Apparently there was no opportunity for their removal. The same evidences exist as to the phalli, *linga*, and emblems of the form of nature-worship practised at Zimbabwe. These, too, must have been prized by the pre-historic occupiers. The massive soapstone bowls and carved beams also show proof positive that most of them were wilfully broken.

Probably the original occupiers were the victims of some horde of Bantu barbarians arriving from the north, who knew nothing of the value of gold or of the form of worship represented by the carved emblems, and would be bound, following usual Bantu custom, to destroy all the “charms” of their enemies. It is most improbable that the original occupiers of the Temple were exterminated by any of the Bantu hordes from the north which devastated the country of the *monomotapa* during the Portuguese period (1505–1760), for the records clearly show that the period during which there had been a general use of gold in ornaments was over very long before the arrival of the Portuguese in 1505 (see pp. 35–37).¹

¹ Professor J. L. Myres considers the ruin of Zimbabwe was caused by “raids in 1570 and 1662.” This is impossible, for Zimbabwe had ceased to be a centre very long before the Portuguese arrived, nor was it a centre even in the earlier historic Arab and Persian times (See *The Huns of South Africa* (Tooke) and *History of South Africa* (Theal)).

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It would also appear from the evidences in the Temple that the great wealth of gold and the many phallic emblems had become buried very long before the Moors saw the Temple, which was at some altogether indefinite time prior to 1505, that is, at some time between the eleventh century and 1505, when they pronounced the building to be "very ancient."

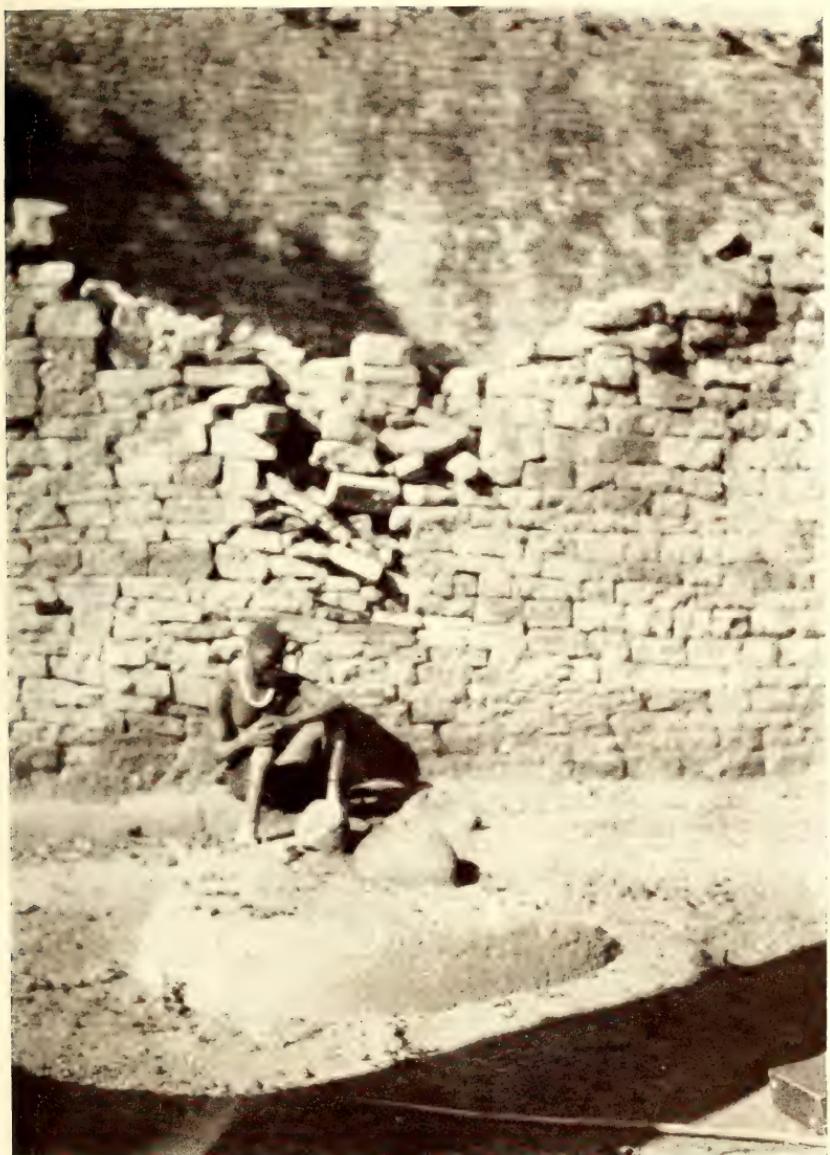
No Cement Structures Running Under any of the Main Walls of the Temple.

But a somewhat astonishing statement reads as follows: "At Zimbabwe [Temple?] the immense beds of cement [*daga?*] which are built up into the interior into platforms run under the stone walls [main or divisional walls not stated] themselves" (*M.R.* 84).

Professor Myres (*R.G.S. Journal*, April 1906, 344) asked Professor Maciver to make this point "clear," and went on to remark, "He gives in his paper *evidence* that the cement [*daga?*] platforms come right up to the big walls [main encircling walls?] of Zimbabwe, and of these other buildings [Khami, Dhlo-dhlo, N'Natali], and he mentions *instances* in which they come right up to the outside [no single instance at Zimbabwe stated, nor is it stated whether under main or divisional walls of the Temple]."

In reply, Professor Maciver stated, "At Zimbabwe are still better examples [none located], because the cement goes outside [from the interior?] as well as under the walls [whether Temple or valley ruins not stated]" (*ibid.* 345).

i. If "under the main encircling walls of the Temple" were intended, then such a statement is wholly incorrect. Professor Maciver made no attempt whatever to examine the foundations of the main encircling wall. Further, Professor Doncaster stated (*ibid.* 344), "*I was at Zimbabwe after Mr. Maciver was there. . . . But it did not seem to me to be certain that Mr. Maciver had got to the foundations of the outside walls of Zimbabwe. . . . I saw no evidence that Mr. Maciver had exposed the foundations of the main wall.*" This statement is perfectly correct, and the systematic examination of Professor Maciver's diggings



LATER RECONSTRUCTION.

THE TEMPLE, ZIMBABWE.

ORIGINAL WALL.

NO STRUCTURES UNDER MAIN WALLS

and trial sections conducted by several scientists immediately after Professor Maciver had been at Zimbabwe, shows this to be the case. Professor Maciver's own trenches prove that he had no tittle of evidence to warrant his merely speculative generalisations as to what was under the main encircling wall of the Temple.

The "evidence" which Professor Myres asserts that Professor Maciver produced is conspicuous by its entire absence. The *daga* rubble in No. XV enclosure is 30 ft. (9·14 M.) distant from the main encircling wall of the Temple.

The results of the examination of the foundations of the main walls of the Temple, as detailed on pp. 255-258 demonstrate what other explorers must also find to be the case, viz.—

(a) *There is not a single cement platform or other cement structure passing under the main encircling wall from the interior to the exterior of the building.*

(b) *Nor is there at the Temple, or ever was, any cement or *daga* platform up against the main encircling wall, either on the exterior or interior side of the building. Yet Professor Maciver allowed Professor Myers and others to remain under the impression that such cement or even *daga* structures had been so built up against the main wall and actually under the foundations of the main wall.*

But there is also a common-sense reply which entirely negatives Professor Maciver's speculation. If, as he suggests, such cement structures had passed under the main encircling walls from the interior to the exterior of the building, which was not the case, what possible object could all the drains passing through the main walls at higher levels have served? These drains pass through the 15 ft. (4·57 M.) and 20 ft. (6·09 M.) wide walls at some height above their foundations. There is no possible doubt but that the internal arrangements of the Temple were not commenced until *after* the main encircling wall had been erected.

2. If "under any of the divisional walls of the Temple" were intended, then the following replies can be made—

PRE-HISTORIC RHODESIA

(a) Under certain divisional walls of the Temple which are obviously portions of the original building, and which walls have been mentioned, such cement structures have not been and cannot be found. This was demonstrated before Professor Maciver made this statement, but following after him to Zimbabwe, I and others have made this assurance doubly sure. *Professor Maciver never cut a trial section to the foundations of a single one of such walls.* Where he saw foundations was in South Passage only, the walls of which, as shown earlier, are of later date. This is a matter within the knowledge of the local Rhodesians, while the locations of such diggings as he made elsewhere in the Temple can be seen to-day, and are also marked on the working plan.

(b) As shown on pp. 254-9, the internal walls of the Temple are not all of the age of the main encircling walls. Under certain of the obviously later walls there are portions of such structures composed of *daga*; for instance in No. XV enclosure, where one small and late wall on the west side of the *daga* rubble runs up to and passes over the lower portion of such rubble on which the old Makaranga hut was built. But *daga* (veld soil and cow-dung) is never associated with the original structure of the Temple, but invariably with the poor constructions of later occupiers and subsequent squatters on higher levels than that on which the phalli and the gold are found. Such walls, to borrow an expression from Professor Maciver himself, evidence "the shoddy methods of later builders."

3. If by "under the walls" Professor Maciver intended under the walls of any of the minor ruins in the Zimbabwe valley, the answer must depend on which particular ruin is referred to, for the ruins here are all of different ages. These ruins were described in *Great Zimbabwe* almost three years before Professor Maciver paid his visit to South Africa. The reasons stated therein for fixing the relative ages of these ruins are set out fully in *Great Zimbabwe*, and in this Mr. Bent's opinion was confirmed by my explorations. Under the older main walls in the valley such



LATER AND DECADENT WALL AT ZIMBABWE. OLD MONOLITHS USED AS BUILDING MATERIAL.
Kahurisation reached.

TEMPLE USED AS A CEMETERY

cement structures do not run, but they well may under others of most obviously later date, though I do not know of a single instance of their doing so. Professor Maciver has, in his characteristic method, omitted to specify the ruin or the walls intended, and here again he leaves his readers facing the "Unknown."

These omissions are startling. Even Professor Myres alludes to this characteristic displayed by Professor Maciver. "He has omitted to mention the depth, either absolute or relative; thus we are confronted with the Unknown" (*R. G. S.J.*, July 1906, p. 48). Weeks have recently been spent on the spot in endeavouring to locate the exact points of importance of which he gave most loose and general descriptions. No archæologist can follow him to check his statements. One only has to read the vaguely-mentioned locations of his finds, whether of Nankin china or of Ba-Rosie pottery (not two hundred years old) to appreciate the fact that his general descriptions, so often repeated at Zimbabwe, Dhlo-dhlo, and elsewhere, weaken considerably the value of his "evidences," which thus only have the weight of his unsupported statement.

Burials within the Zimbabwe Temple.

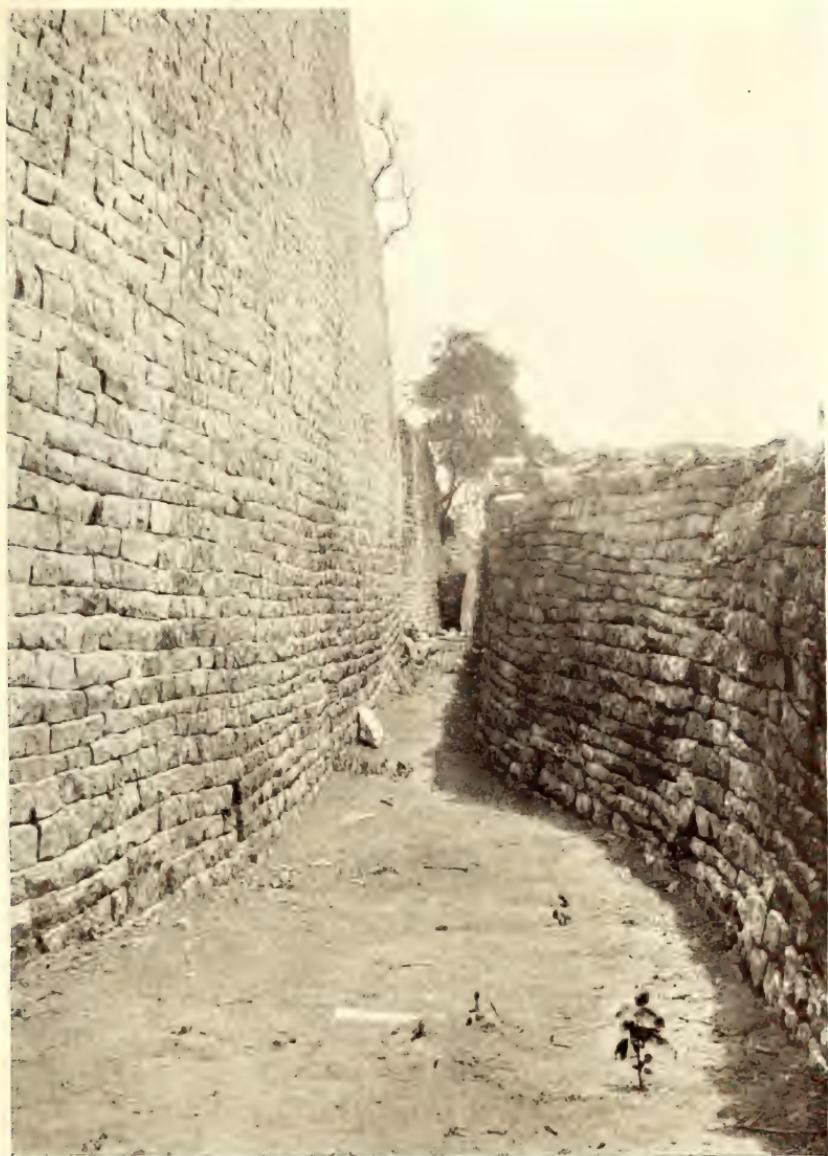
Only three graves of natives have been found within the Temple, though scores of native graves have been discovered within the minor ruins in the Zimbabwe Valley, and also within the walls, especially in the passages, on Zimbabwe Hill. None of these, however, were those of the original occupiers. In every instance the dead had been buried on the tops of the midden débris banks of subsequent squatters at levels several feet above the filled-in floors and lower walls of the original occupiers, and consequently far above the choked-up drains which pass through the base of the main walls. In the Temple two of the graves were made in the acute angles formed by two walls, and on the tops of the débris banks of subsequent squatters, and at some feet above the original floors. Blocks from the outcrops of the adjoining walls were rudely piled up in barricade form (not built) across the front of the angles, the whole then

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being covered with midden débris from the sides of the piles. The other grave found in the Temple was in a passage—the Inner Parallel Passage, which is, and was, one of the main approaches to the interior of the Temple. This grave was on the top of a bed of subsequent squatters' débris, which completely blocked up the passage, and on the top of the grave was growing a tall euphorbia tree. The stain marks on the passage walls caused by this midden débris can be seen to-day. These reach up to 6 ft. above the now cleared original floors. These three graves were of about the same age, and were those of people buried there long after the subsequent squatters had finally abandoned the building which they must have occupied for some centuries previously.

The beads found in each grave were identical in make, size, and colour with those found by me in a similarly positioned grave in Renders' Ruin, and which identical beads Professor Maciver (*Mediæval Rhodesia*, p. 80, also Plate XXX, *a*, Fig. 2) claims as being "the earliest of all the objects ever obtained from Zimbabwe!" This is very far from being the actual fact (see section "The earliest of all the objects ever obtained from Zimbabwe," later). *These glass beads belonged to the people buried in the ruins after they had been abandoned by the subsequent squatters who must have occupied the ruins for centuries after the original occupiers had disappeared and the building had again been abandoned by them for a very considerable time.*

The present Ma-Karanga of the Mogabe or Zimbabwe tribe have only been at Zimbabwe seventy years, and their tribal vogue is a large, round, turquoise-blue bead. The Amangwa of NINI, who lived near the ruins prior to seventy years ago and for at least a century previously, have only worn large sky-blue beads, and this vogue, as they themselves declare, and as their oldest graves prove, has existed for over a century. In these graves in the Temple the knobkerries and handles of hoes buried with each corpse were found to be almost intact, for being in elevated positions and protected by walls they must always have been in a dry condition. These knobkerries and hoe-



ORIGINAL WALL.

LATER WALL.

EXTERIOR (NORTH) OF TEMPLE.

NATIVE GRAVES IN TEMPLE

handles, and the iron hoes and assegai heads, and the glass beads (shown in *Medieval Rhodesia*) came from graves which completely blocked up and rendered impassable the main thoroughfares of the Temple and of Renders' Ruins, and, therefore, were most certainly not "*the earliest of all objects ever obtained from Zimbabwe.*"

The three graves in the Temple which blocked up main passages, as also the grave in Renders' Ruin (for description of which see later) belonged undoubtedly not to the original builders and occupiers, but to people who had used the ruins as a cemetery subsequently to the Nankin china period, for the banks of subsequent squatters' midden débris, on the top of which the graves were made, contained, as both Professor Maciver and the author have shown, Nankin china and Persian fayence. In this there is complete agreement. *Such china and fayence are never found, as shown earlier in Chapter IX, anywhere at the Temple save in the débris banks of subsequent squatters.* This clearly demonstrates that the Nankin china and Persian fayence did not arrive at Zimbabwe until very long after the disappearance of its original occupiers, and that its first advent, whether introduced through Arabs, Persians, or Portuguese, was subsequent to the commencement of the occupation of the Temple by the subsequent squatters, who knew nothing of the old form of ceremonial, or of the value of gold, or of the necessity of sanitation, and whose stone structures were but crude native imitations of the perfected and older form of culture of stone buildings.

Mr. Bent found his specimens of imported articles practically on the surface of the débris banks of subsequent squatters, which completely blocked up passages, entrances, drains, and buried all the original floors on which were the older form of relic, and which even overspread some of the lower and original divisional walls till only their summits outcropped at various points above the midden débris. As shown in Chapter IX, no such imported article has ever been, or can ever be, discovered under any of the original walls of the Temple, nor has such ever been found in association with phalli, cylinder, astragali ingot mould,

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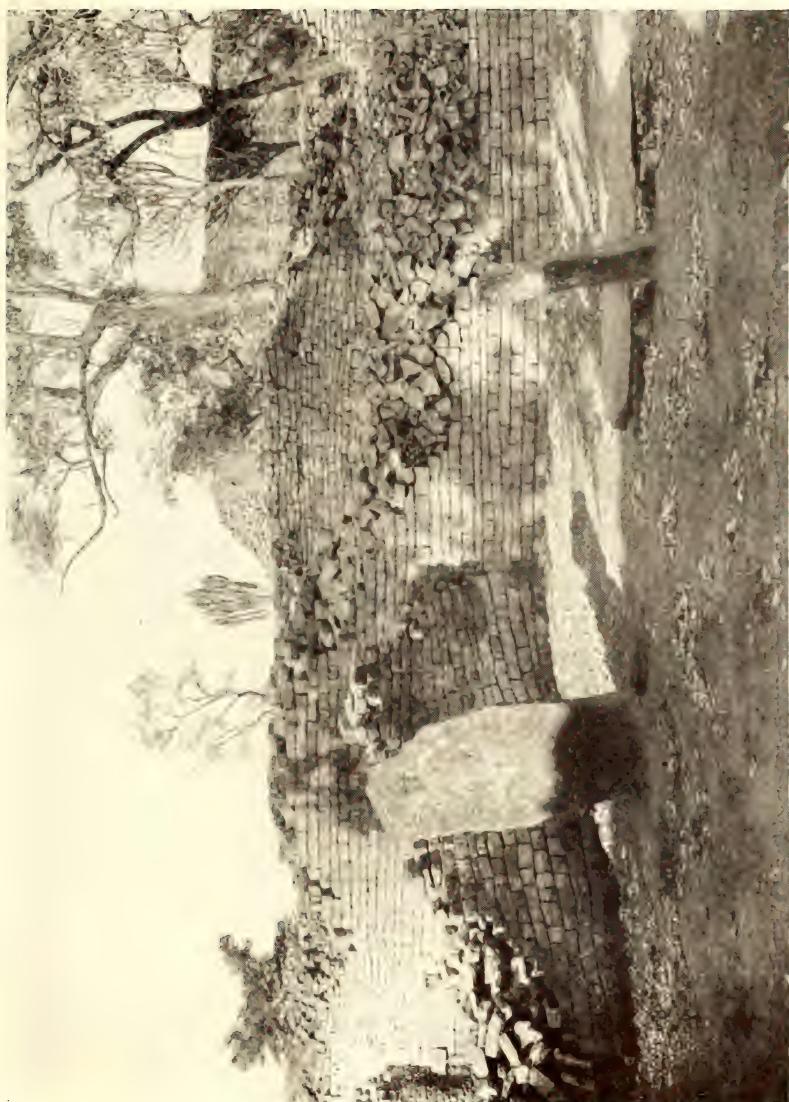
knobbed carved monoliths, stone birds, or the profusion of ornate gold ornaments, all of which are undoubtedly "the earliest of all objects ever obtained from Zimbabwe." *The zenith of the Zimbabwe Temple had passed away long centuries before the arrival of Nankin china.*

In one solitary instance, and, it must be admitted, in most unsatisfactory and unreliable circumstances, has an isolated fragment of Nankin china at the Temple been found anywhere than in the midden débris of subsequent squatters. But this find was ultimately stated to have been made at 30 ft. distance from any main wall, and, moreover, not even at the depth at which the cognac, soda-water and stout bottles, Broseley pipe, and umbrella frame of Birmingham make, were discovered in the same disturbed soil and at the same spot in 1903.

There has been much planing down of these midden heaps of subsequent squatters by still later squatters, on which to secure ample space and good foundations for much later buildings of an inferior construction. In this way the corners and angles of enclosures have been still further filled in, and stray twelfth and thirteenth century articles would by this process have reached their present abnormal position, but never touch a depth as to reach the original floor below. But only one such instance has been discovered—that of the china claimed to have been found in No. V enclosure, and the whole circumstances surrounding its discovery are so completely unsatisfactory that no one would be so rash as to build a theory upon it, especially as all the other evidences are so overwhelmingly opposed to its acceptance.

Succession of Subsequent Squatters at the Temple.

The stratification of successive floors and débris levels as shown in *Great Zimbabwe*, pp. 103, 104, and which are several feet above the levels of the original floors and drains (the stainings on the walls of some of such stratifications can still be seen), are unquestionably but the breaking up into as many subdivisions of the occupations of successions of subsequent squatters, for each level upwards yields



MONOLITHS AND ORIGINAL WALL. (B.B. ON PLAN).
THE TEMPLE, ZIMBABWE.

SUBSEQUENT SQUATTERS AT TEMPLE

a more inferior class of article and evidences a more marked decadence in culture, a steady degeneration without a break. No new types were invented, the inspiration having departed, the designs of the older type being imitated with less and less fidelity. There was no upward grade in art arrested by catastrophe, but a downward grade following catastrophe—such as the inroad of barbarous Bantu hordes —behind it. But no Bantu raid of the sixteenth century can possibly explain or in any way account for the catastrophe which befell the original occupiers of the Temple.

Many centuries must have elapsed between the period when the first dressed block of granite was laid at the Temple and that period when subsequent squatters raised their barricades of rudely piled up untrimmed stones over the banks of their own débris, which buried walls, drains, passages, entrances, and floors, gold articles and phalli to a depth of some feet, the existence of which the very latest of the subsequent squatters must have been altogether ignorant.

If early Persian, Arab, and Portuguese records are to be trusted, the ancient ruins and rock-mines' area of Rhodesia was overrun at different periods from remotest times by vast hordes of barbarous and devastating Bantu, each southward wave apparently more cruel and inhuman than the one which preceded it. These tribes in their southward march were constantly at war among themselves for their very existence. Probably the devastating horde of cannibal Bantu, which we are told at some indefinite time prior to 915 A.D. swept over the gold-producing hinterland of Sofala, caused the catastrophe both at Zimbabwe Temple and at the rock mines. Of the occurrence of such a catastrophe there are overwhelming evidences in the cessation and oblivion of ceremonial, in the subsequent non-appreciation of the value of gold, and in the sudden arrest of skill both in stone-building and rock-mining. Each successive horde in its southward progress would find in the massive walls and strategic position of Zimbabwe, which lay open and directly exposed in its track, a magnificently defensive

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stronghold, and would occupy it until later and stronger hordes of barbarians arriving from the north in turn drove them out and forced them still further south. But Zimbabwe district, owing to its position on the general and now ascertained line of southward march of certain Bantu tribes, was most probably the Bantu cock-pit of South-east Africa.

These were not the times when the somewhat mythical Super-Kafir race was born, which Professor Maciver claims to have taken place between the eleventh and sixteenth century! South Africa, as Mr. Dudley Kidd has shown us in his *Kafir Socialism*, has never yet witnessed the arrival of the Super-Kafir race, and his advent, as he has forcibly shown, even with future centuries of civilising influences, is altogether problematical. Yet Professor Maciver claims that such a Super-Kafir people evolved themselves without outside influence, displayed their culture in colossal form over vast territories, and then, as suddenly as they had appeared, they as suddenly disappeared, and fell into completest oblivion, so that no tradition of such Super-Kafirs existed five hundred years ago! All this, to take Professor Maciver's widest margins of datings, within the period when the Old Town House of Cape Town was erected and the present day!

The horde of Bantu mentioned by Massonde (915 A.D.) were not the first arrivals of Bantu from the north, for these migrations had commenced in pre-historic times, that is, prior to 915 A.D. Of the later southward movements of Bantu we have explicit evidence in Asiatic and European records. They are further demonstrated in both buildings and mines, while every single ethnologist and philologist in South Africa has, on altogether independent evidences gained from a personal and first-hand knowledge of the natives, produced unquestionable proofs of such successive migrations having taken place across this area of country, both in pre-historic as well as in historic times.

An approximate date for the descent of the first Bantu wave to the south of the Zambesi cannot at present be determined. Every standard work on South Africa deals

BEADS FROM A NATIVE GRAVE

with some phase of the successive migrations of Bantu hordes, especially of those of the eastern portion of the sub-continent. So close and exact a study of these pre-historic movements has been made that to-day the student of the Bantu, whether philologist or ethnologist, can now speak definitely as to the relative periods, directions, temporary locations, contacts, and influences of the migrations of practically all the main Bantu tribes of South-eastern and South-central Africa. We now know what main tribes passed over or occupied the ruins' area, and what main tribes never approached anywhere near it.

"The Earliest of all Objects ever Obtained from Zimbabwe."

This expression, as applied by Professor Maciver to certain finds mentioned by him on p. 80, *Medieval Rhodesia*, is absolutely without the slightest warrant whatever. As stated earlier, Nankin china can only be found in the midden débris of subsequent squatters within the Temple, and at heights of some feet above the original floors and the choked-up drains, and possibly on the floors of such structures of obviously decadent native type which are of a relatively late date, for instance, Renders' Ruin.

That the expression "the earliest of all objects ever obtained from Zimbabwe is but a light-hearted promiscuity for which it is difficult to find a parallel in the history of scientific research, is amply evidenced by the following—

(1) "Small, brilliantly-coloured glass beads were found in Renders' Ruin. They were lying loose in the soil" (*Medieval Rhodesia*, p. 80). Neither Professor Maciver (who was not present on this occasion), nor his assistant, nor his native labourers, discovered these beads, nor were they found "lying loose in the soil." Nor had Professor Maciver or his assistant the remotest idea as to where these beads originally came from, though his natives knew they had come from a native grave which I removed, as it blocked up a main passage in Renders' Ruin. These identical beads were discovered by myself in May, 1903, and such as were caked in soil (actually midden mud) were

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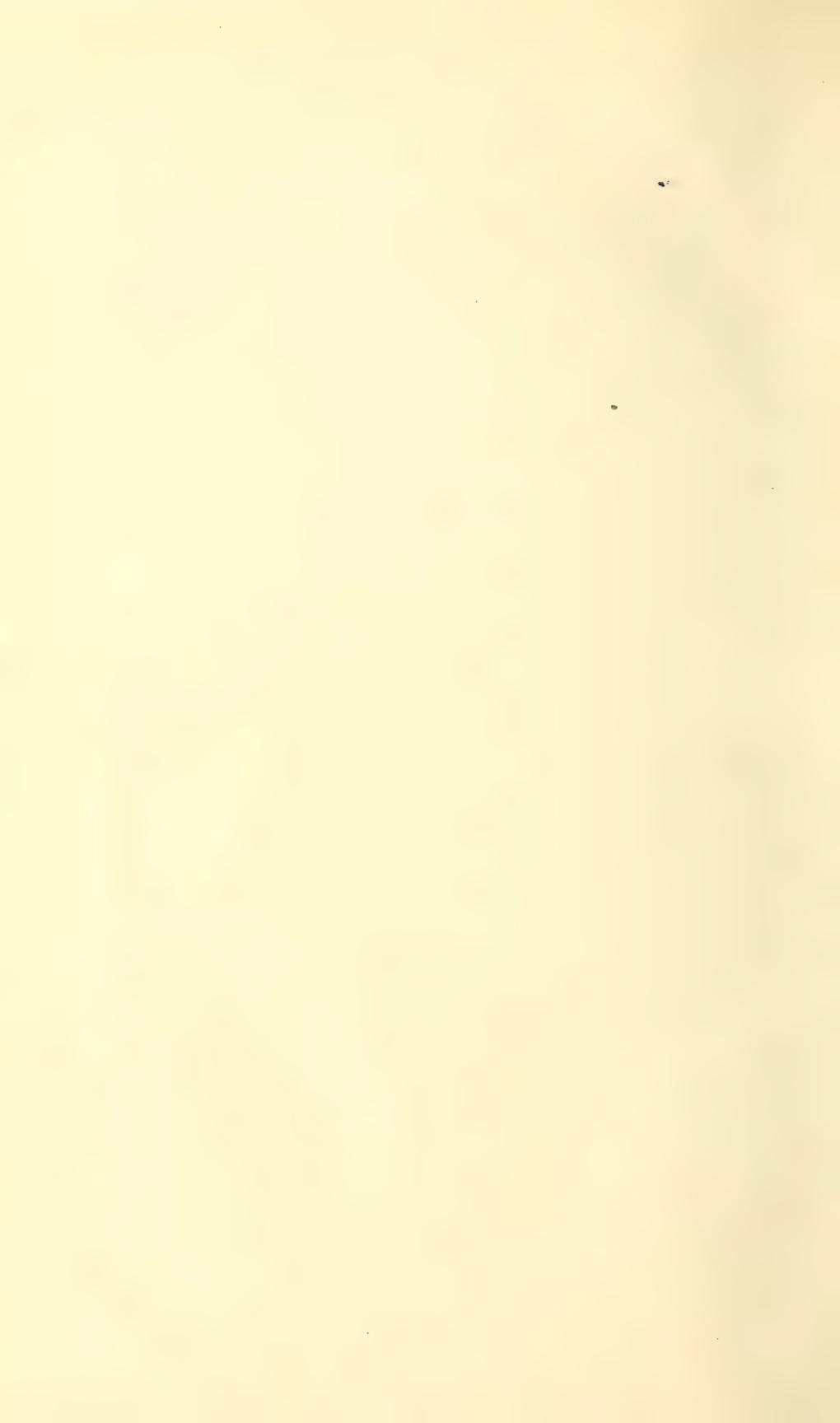
laid out to dry in the sun and to be washed free by the rains, and for this purpose were spread out on stone slabs which were on the top of a low wall about twenty yards from the spot where they were originally discovered. All the free beads were sent to Salisbury with the rest of the finds made by myself at Zimbabwe. The natives would never handle these beads (except for money), because they knew they had been taken out of a grave. Had it not been for the shilling which Professor Maciver states (p. 81) he paid to a Karanga woman, they would never have been worked into a necklace, as shown by him (Plate XXX, Fig. 2), where Professor Maciver solemnly illustrates what he styles, "*the earliest of all the objects ever obtained from Zimbabwe!*" Yet on the strength of Professor Maciver's unwarranted statement, Mr. C. H. Read, of the British Museum, not being informed of the original location of these beads, is allowed by Professor Maciver to state that in his (Mr. Read's) opinion the buildings (Zimbabwe Temple included) are not older than "the fourteenth century, or just possibly the thirteenth century," and that the original builders "did not come from the north [Arabia]!"

On returning to Zimbabwe in 1906, that is, subsequently to Professor Maciver's visit, I ascertained from the natives who worked for him that neither he nor his assistant had ever inquired where the beads originally came from. Certainly the top of a low wall built across native débris and of a relatively late date is an abnormal position in which to discover "the earliest of all objects ever obtained from Zimbabwe!" The natives, who were also some of my best and most intelligent labourers, informed me they had frequently volunteered a great deal of information to Professor Maciver and his assistant, but neither of them knowing a single word of Chicaranga, this information was never utilised. This is a great pity, for some of these men had worked for and had been recommended specially for their careful work by Mr. Bent, Sir John Willoughby, Dr. Schlichter, and other explorers at Zimbabwe, and on my first arrival these had at once posted me up with information as to where the various relics were found, and the



WALL OF LATER AND DECADENT PERIOD, RENDER'S RUINS, ZIMBABWE.

(From which Professor Maciver claims to have found "the earliest of all objects ever obtained from Zimbabwe.")



THE LOCATION OF THE BEADS

spots where were buried walls, all this information being of great service to me in economising time and directing me to certain spots which possibly I might never have examined.

Moreover, the British South African troopers, stationed at Zimbabwe, were never once questioned by Professor Maciver as to these beads, and not being aware of the intention to use such evidence in an attempt to prove such to be "the earliest of all objects ever obtained from Zimbabwe," they were unable to save Professor Maciver from committing such an extraordinary and inexcusable error. The troopers state that on Professor Maciver's arrival the beads lay on the wall, just as I had left them nineteen months earlier.

(2) But where were these beads—"the earliest of all objects ever obtained from Zimbabwe"—originally found? In No. IV enclosure (actually a passage or main thoroughfare of the original occupiers) of Renders' Ruin, in an angle formed by two walls, *i.e.* the south wall of No. III enclosure (see plan, *Great Zimbabwe*, p. 387), and the south wall of No. II enclosure. Subsequent squatters have occupied these ruins for at least some centuries *after* the original occupiers had finally abandoned the building. These subsequent squatters, of far lower culture than the original occupiers', had piled up their midden débris until the passage was completely buried from 4 ft. to 7 ft., and no one walking across these piles could possibly have guessed that any passage was below.

After this buried passage was discovered in 1902, we started to clear it of midden débris down to its original floor, starting from the east end. Gradually we worked up to the angle mentioned, and when only a few feet of the midden débris remained in the angle, the whole remaining mass collapsed down on to the cleared floor below. In the angle, and 5 ft. above the original floor, and on the top of the midden pile was a Kafir grave which had been rudely barricaded across the angle with blocks taken from the tops of the almost buried walls. The knobkerrie in the grave was still intact. The bangles were of iron; the beads, which Mr. C. H. Read

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states belonged to the fourteenth or possibly the thirteenth century, all lay together within a few inches of one another. Although the beads may be of the age attributed to them by Mr. Read, and there is no reason to doubt his dating of them, I do not consider the grave to have been that age, for the midden débris of subsequent squatters contained Nankin china. However, the grave was undoubtedly old, but not so old as the midden débris below it. These are the beads which Professor Maciver invites his readers to believe to be "the earliest of all the objects ever obtained from Zimbabwe."

So we find that the beads (thirteenth or fourteenth century) came from a native grave made on the top of the midden pile of subsequent squatters, who could have known nothing of the existence of the passages, floors, and steps below ; that the subsequent squatters had not taken possession of the building until its abandonment by the original occupiers ; that the grave was not placed there until after even the subsequent squatters, who had occupied for centuries, had ceased to occupy the ruins as sheltered spots for their huts, and when they could then utilise them for a cemetery ! And, finally, the grave containing the beads of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, the original structure must have dated from centuries earlier than the dating of it hazarded by Professor Maciver.

Thus, every single word in *Mediaeval Rhodesia* which claims to point out "the earliest of all objects ever obtained from Zimbabwe," can quite safely be disregarded. Of course, on innumerable other grounds—historical and ethnological—specified in this volume, his conclusions as to datings are completely riddled and upset ; but in this instance, as will be seen later, Mr. Read, on Professor Maciver's own evidence, deals a death-blow to Professor Maciver's datings of the Temple.

"The earliest of all objects ever obtained from Zimbabwe" are the *astragali* ingot moulds, the lotus carved phalli, the rosette carved cylinder, the knobbed carved monoliths, the stone birds, and the extraordinary profusion of gold. All these belong to a period very many centuries earlier than

CHINA IN LATE MIDDENS ONLY

the thirteenth or fourteenth century glass beads found in the native grave on the top of a filled-in passage in Renders' Ruin, and which was not placed there until after even the subsequent squatters had abandoned the building and had converted it into a cemetery. These relics, too, are far older than the Nankin china, which only arrived at Zimbabwe during the period of the subsequent squatters, and which can only be found in the midden piles of such squatters which blocked up and buried the passages whether of the Temple or of any other ruin at Zimbabwe.

(3) But this by no means exhausts all that can be said to effectually explode "the earliest object" assertion. Renders' Ruin cannot, nor can Khami, Dhlo-dhlo, N'Natali, Inyanga, or Umtali, possibly assist us in our inquiry as to the origin of the art of stone-building as exemplified in the Zimbabwe Temple, for all these are later structures than the Temple, and but evidence the various phases of the gradual decadence in stone building of the native left entirely to his own resources.

Renders' Ruin is not contemporary with the Temple. It dates, as every archæologist must find, from the time when the Temple had already been abandoned by its original occupiers, and when the subsequent squatters were in possession of the Temple, and probably even late in that period. (a) The south wall of No. I enclosure at Renders' Ruin runs over a bed of midden débris, which is identical in composition and in the articles it contains, with the midden débris of the subsequent squatters at the Temple. (b) Blocks and stones, which once stood in a vertical position in some other structure, have been used horizontally as building materials in this ruin. (c) Many blocks have been taken from some better-built and older structures. (d) Blocks are levelled up with bits of native pottery, a practice never met with in the Temple or in ruins of the Zimbabwe type. (e) The construction of the walls is identical in every point with that of the walls of the subsequent squatters, and also in their repairs of older walls within the Temple, the construction of which Professor Maciver himself has stated to evidence "the slovenly methods of later builders."

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(f) No phalli or older form of relic has ever been or ever will be found in Renders' Ruin. (g) Nankin china ought to have been found, and was found, here abundantly, this article being common in the débris of subsequent squatters.

There is no need to belabour the question of the relative ages of the Temple and Renders' Ruin. The examination of all the valley ruins at Zimbabwe and Renders' Ruin is only one of those made by Mr. Bent, Sir John Willoughby, Dr. Schlichter, Dr. Robert Koch, myself, and scores of trained scientists, architects, and builders, each stating his own reasons for his conclusions, which are much to be preferred to the proofless assertion so hazardously put forward by Professor Maciver. The Zimbabwe valley is full of buildings of all ages, constructed with material quarried from older buildings, decaying and degenerating, until completest Kafirisation is arrived at.

Mr. C. H. Read's Report destroys the Basis of Professor Maciver's Dating of the Temple.

Mr. Read's dating of the before-mentioned glass beads was—thirteenth or fourteenth century. Professor Maciver's dating of the Temple was first given as "not earlier than 1400 or 1500 A.D., and possibly even later," and this was subsequently modified by him to "two centuries before this (the sixteenth century)," which would be the fourteenth century (*Mediæval Rhodesia*, p. 85).

Thus we are faced by a *reductio ad absurdum*, for if Mr. Read were correct in his datings of the glass beads, and this there is no reason to question, and also of the Nankin china (of which latter Mr. Read, states Professor Maciver, never showed him a specimen), then we should have to imagine that the three graves in the Temple, and the grave in Renders' Ruin which yielded those beads, were of people who died a century before the Temple, according to Professor Maciver's own dating, was erected! This is an extraordinary suggestion, seeing that the graves in both of those ruins blocked up passages at considerable heights above the original floors. Further, we are invited to imagine that even the midden piles of the subsequent



RUIN OF LATER AND DECENT CONSTRUCTIONS WHERE NANKIN CHINA WAS FOUND. NO GOLD.

A REDUCTIO AD ABSURDUM

squatters containing Nankin china and Persian fayence, which blocked up entire enclosures, passages, and buried original walls, were also *in situ*, with the graves upon them, before the passages were built. Further, that the Temple was occupied by subsequent squatters, could this have been possible, immediately it was erected !

Professor Maciver is unmistakably a good many centuries out of his reckonings in his hazard of a date for the erection of the Temple. This has already been demonstrated beyond cavil by myself and others on other grounds—archæological, ethnological, and historical. He allows not even a month's margin of time into which to crowd (1) the centuries of occupation by the original builders, who practised a ceremonial of which the subsequent squatters were altogether ignorant, (2) the probable centuries of abandonment of the Temple by the original occupiers before the arrival of the subsequent squatters, (3) the absolutely certain centuries of occupation by the subsequent squatters who brought the Nankin china to Zimbabwe, and (4) the centuries of abandonment by the subsequent squatters when the Temple was used as a cemetery, the graves in which contained glass beads dating, so Mr. Read reports, from the thirteenth or fourteenth century. Even were we to present Professor Maciver's datings with two or three centuries earlier than his very earliest date, the *reductio ad absurdum* involved in his method of argument would still confront us. From this position there is no possible escape.

Mr. C. H. Read's Report Confirms the Statement made by De Barros (1496-1570) concerning the "Antiquity" of the Zimbabwe Temple.

João de Barros, the Portuguese historian (*Theal's Translation*, Vol. VI, pp. 267, 268), mentions, about 1552, the Zimbabwe Temple, its massive walls built without mortar, and their "smoothness and perfection," the chevron pattern on the east wall, the conical tower "twelve fathoms high," and the situation of Zimbabwe as being 170 leagues west of Sofala. He states that certain Moors (Persians) had seen the Temple, but as De Barros only relates what the

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Portuguese on their arrival at Sofala, in 1487, had been informed by the coast Moors, the date when the Moors saw the building must have been at some altogether indefinite time, prior to 1487. De Barros writes, "In the opinion of these Moors who saw it, it is *very ancient*, and was built there to keep possession of the mines, which are very old, and no gold has been extracted from them for years." The Moors again referred to the "antiquity" of the Temple, and stated that the natives, "being barbarians, all their houses are of wood." Further, "When, and by whom these edifices were raised, as the people of the land are ignorant of the art of writing, there is no record, but they say they are the work of the devil, for in comparison with their power and knowledge it does not seem possible to them that they should be the work of man."

This statement was based on information obtained by the Portuguese about 1487, and relates back to some altogether indefinite time prior to 1487. Thus, we find that the natives at that early period possessed no shred of tradition as to what people had erected the building, or concerning the original occupiers who had occupied the Temple for centuries prior to its abandonment by them, or as to the arrival of the subsequent squatters and their many-centuried occupation.

But the glass beads discovered in the graves which were made in the Temple passages on the tops of the débris piles of the subsequent squatters, and which buried the passages, are stated to belong to the thirteenth or fourteenth century. Mr. Bent claimed that his beads, from graves within the Temple in similar positions, belonged from the tenth to the twelfth century. However, for the present, Mr. Read's dating will suffice.

But what is the logical conclusion? The Moors' account of Zimbabwe, given by De Barros, relates to the time when both original occupiers and subsequent squatters had in turn abandoned the Temple, and when it had become solely for the purpose of a cemetery. In 1560 we learn (Vol. III, p. 356) that the Beza Ruins had already been converted into a burial place: "All the Monomotapas are buried

QUEST FOR ORIGINAL CEMETERIES

there, and it ('a supreme piece of work') serves them for a cemetery." In 1560 the Fura Ruins are described as "fragments of old walls and *ancient ruins* of stones," so old that they were ascribed to Solomonic times, and again as "foundations of palaces and castles." How these "ancient ruins," "fragments of walls," "foundations of palaces and castles" of the mid-sixteenth century writers, who describe what they actually saw, could possibly have reached their zenith in the sixteenth century, when centuries earlier they had been already converted into cemeteries, passes human understanding to conceive. "The truest science," observed Sir John Lubbock, "is the exercise of common-sense."

Where were the Original Occupiers of the Temple Buried?

We have seen that successive waves of Bantu tribes passed over the Zimbabwe area, not only since 915 A.D., but even in pre-historic times, the migrations of certain main tribes over these territories having been ascertained by historian, ethnologist, and philologist. These conclusions find their confirmation in the various definite stages of decadence in culture, as shown in stone-building, mining, and form of relic. Further, we have seen that some local tribes living in and near Zimbabwe, but not in stone buildings, had since the thirteenth or fourteenth century utilised the Temple and other buildings as cemeteries. Mr. Read's report points to no other conclusion. But this fact had been ascertained by Mr. Bent seventeen years ago, and Mr. Bent sets forth overwhelming evidences in support of this conclusion. My examination of the ruins, as shown in my *Great Zimbabwe*, confirms Mr. Bent's evidences, while scores of other qualified examiners, who know the ruins equally as well as myself, have stated the same thing—*i.e.* that about the thirteenth and fourteenth century the subsequent squatters had already abandoned the building which later local natives utilised as cemeteries.

But where were the original occupiers of the Temple buried? Certainly not in the Temple, nor in its vicinity. The sanitary arrangements of the original occupiers were perfect to elaboration and redundancy, their floors were

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beautifully clean and altogether free of midden débris, and were not injurious to work. Their wealth in gold, and their arts and industries betoken a taste in culture which was altogether unknown among the subsequent squatters. The Temple, and its floor and passages, were in constant use for centuries. Not a single original occupier was buried within its walls nor within the Zimbabwe valley. Yet the original occupiers of this pre-historic metropolitan centre must have formed a huge population, and their occupation must have covered centuries. Their burial-places ought to be found, but these will not yield Nankin china, Persian fayence, or glass beads of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, nor will their personal ornaments be found to have been made of iron. I have already reported to the British South African Company, and to the British Association at its Cambridge Meeting (August 17th, 1904), where the pre-historic cemeteries may possibly be found. Until certain specified Sinbad-like gorges and ravines, hidden in the romantic folds of certain ranges, have been thoroughly explored, the pre-historic cemeteries will not be discovered. I thoroughly agree with Mr. Bent that the bodies of the original occupiers were removed to such secluded spots. There must have been cemeteries somewhere, just as in the present day the natives have their special localities for burials. Zimbabwe having been the chief metropolitan centre and headquarters for centuries of the pre-historic rock-miners, whose wealth in gold was, as has been conclusively proved, so inconceivably profuse and general, it is most probable that such cemeteries, when located, would yield relics which shall finally set at rest all question as to the period when the Temple was erected. But fixing its date cannot determine the date of the first arrival of the foreign influences which led to the first rock mines being sunk, for stone-building was but a resultant phase of the gold-mining operations which were most probably carried on long prior to the erection of the Zimbabwe Temple.

CHAPTER XI

THE ELLIPTICAL TEMPLE AT ZIMBABWE—*continued.*

Disparagement of the Temple.

PROFESSOR MACIVER'S hypothesis of the purely local and natural origin of the skill displayed in the stone building, rock-mining, and arts, all of which industries he claims as being "characteristically African," leads him into most serious difficulties beyond those already pointed out in Chapter VI.

As we have seen in Chapters VI and VII, he was compelled to cast about to find some ruins which could be utilised as "prototypes" of the construction of the Zimbabwe Temple, and as illustrating the "gradual and natural evolution" of the unaided Bantu in the art of stone building. In this, as is seen, he was most unsuccessful, for the Inyanga and Umtali remains are impossible for such a purpose, seeing they can be satisfactorily shown to be of much later date than the Temple (see Chapter VII).

But in the attempt to make his extraordinary claim good he is also forced to disparage the specialised features of the Temple, and to strain beyond all reason in magnifying any similarities between the two types of ruins.

In the first instance, what he states concerning Inyanga and Umtali cannot, on archæological grounds, possibly be applied to the Temple. Take the following extracts as examples—

"Rude walls of unhewn stone" (*M.R.* 3).

"Rough stone buildings" (*M.R.* 37).

"Carelessly constructed with large and small pieces of granite" (*M.R.* 4).

"Most irregularly built" (*M.R.* 5).

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"Unsymmetrical" (*M.R.* 6).

"No uniform design" (*M.R.* 6).

"So poorly built that they could have almost been run up in a few hours" (*M.R.* 4).

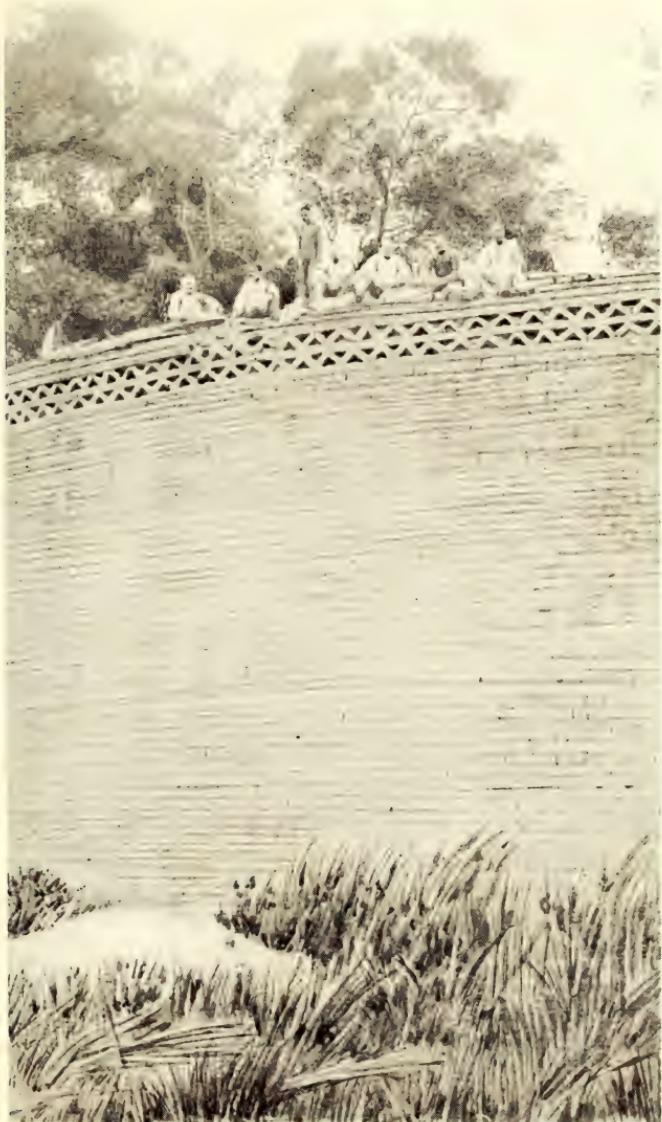
"So rudimentary that they can hardly be described as built" (*M.R.* 21).

"Most carelessly built and tumble-down construction" (*M.R.* 5).

Yet we are seriously invited to take our stand in the Temple, and with the high, massive, symmetrical, and boldly-sweeping walls of dressed granite blocks laid with marvellous regularity and skilful precision before us, to agree with him when he states that the Temple *does not differ* from the "prototype" ruins of Inyanga and Umtali, over which, he says, the Temple "*has no point of superiority*," being "*mainly distinguished by its greater dimensions*." Credulity could not be carried to much greater lengths.

The obvious reasons for this disparagement of the Temple are necessitated by his adoption of a faulty working hypothesis. This disparagement extends even to photographs. They do not, he says, show the tops of the walls of the Parallel Passage. But it is a physical impossibility, in a tortuous passage, barely shoulders' wide, to photograph the summit of a wall which towers for 32 ft. (9·49 M.) immediately over one's head. This argument tells against himself. But he omits to produce his ideal view of these walls; in fact, his published views of the Temple are such that Rhodesian settlers, who know the ruins well, consider his illustrations of the Temple are but ludicrous attempts to belittle the building.

But in a thousand years' time the beautifully-proportioned massive north and east main walls of the Temple, which display such skill in dry masonry construction as to perplex and baffle the modern architect and builder, and to rivet the attention of the most indifferent visitor, will still be standing when the "shoddy" structures of Inyanga and Umtali—which Professor Maciver describes as being of "tumble-down construction," which "could have been almost run up in a few hours," will be barely traceable



CHEVRON PATTERN ON SUMMIT AND OUTER FACE OF MAIN
EAST WALL.
THE TEMPLE, ZIMBABWE.

DISPARAGEMENT IN EXCELSIS

rucks of stones. The Conical Tower will in centuries to come still be mocking the suggestion that it is but of accidental origin, and a mere "Kafir freak" of "not earlier than the fourteenth or fifteenth century, and possibly later."

As will be seen later, this effort in disparagement is extended to the oldest form of the Zimbabwe relics, of which, by the way, *he fails to give a single illustration*, while he produces plates showing numerous Ba-Rosie articles —the Ba-Rosie being only subsequent squatters at certain ruins.¹

From "Kafir Hut" to Zimbabwe Temple.

We learn from Professor Maciver that the Temple is "a

¹ The Ba-Rosie (variants, Ma-Rosie, Va-Rosie) are not to be confused with the Barhurutsi people. The Ba-Rosie came from north of the Zambesi. They did not arrive in hordes, but in detachments. They appear to have settled in Matabeleland, and also in Western Mashonaland, certainly not further east than the Sabi River. On their arrival they found the Ma-Karanga (Ma-Kalaka, Ma-Holi, and Ma-Shona) to be broken up and without cohesion, and from certain centres—such as the sites of Khami, Dhlo-dhlo, Thabas Imamba, and other ruins—they, as subsequent squatters at these ruins, overlorded the Ma-Karanga, though they themselves were in a minority, receiving tribute and first-fruits from the older occupiers. Zimbabwe, where some Ba-Rosie are still to be found, was also one of their centres. On the arrival of the Ma-Tebele raiding parties in 1837, the Ba-Rosie left Matabeleland, some going north of the Zambesi at the Victoria Falls, but the bulk crossing over into Mashonaland. For instance, Jerri's people, who had occupied at Khami as subsequent squatters, and who were responsible for the vast heaps of débris outside No. I Ruin, and which is full of Ba-Rosie pottery and the peculiar-shaped Ba-Rosie hoes, went to what is now known as Jerri's country, about 50 miles (78·6 K.) east of Zimbabwe. The Ba-Rosie are bigger and stouter than the Ma-Karanga, and their skin is usually a reddish brownish black. They have stronger features than the Ma-Karanga, and often aquiline noses. They also speak Chicaranga. To this day the Ma-Karanga consult with the Ba-Rosie in important matters, and treat them with very great respect. See Report of Mr. S. Taberer, Chief Native Commissioner (*South African Native Commission, 1903-5, Report*, p. 9); also Dr. Theal's *History and Ethnography of South Africa before 1795*, p. 64; and *Great Zimbabwe, "Mashonaland"* (R. N. Hall), pp. 81-86. Mr. Taberer adds (*ibid.*), "Scattered about the southern parts of Rhodesia are to be found relics of the Ba-Rosie."

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direct translation into stone of the principle" of a Kafir wattle-and-daub hut. But this must surely be a great step forward in "the natural and gradual evolution of building" of the unaided Bantu, a gradual evolution for which Professor Maciver, according to his own dates, assigns a limit of two hundred years for its initiation, development, display, and utter oblivion.

Puzzle: Find a "Kafir hut," or type of hut, a thousand years old, or one as old as the rock mines.

The life of a "Kafir hut" does not exceed twenty years at the outside, most frequently not ten years. Rains and white ants can abolish the best built hut in two or three years. The huts of the European settlers are much more strongly built than the ordinary native hut, yet these become useless in a few years, notwithstanding constant repairs, re-roofing, re-flooring, and putting in new sections of walls.

Every time a death occurs in a hut, the hut is not only burnt down, but its site is abandoned for generations. This was also the general practice some four hundred years ago, for we read (VII, 309), "when a native dies his hut is burnt down, the ashes of the burnt house, with any pieces of wood not quite consumed, they put on the top of the grave." This is the universal practice to-day.

But the expression "Kafir hut" is without the slightest ethnical significance, and comes strangely from a trained archaeologist. Thirty or forty years ago such an expression might have been pardoned. But to-day the proceedings of the numerous philosophical and other scientific societies in South Africa, as well as the standard works on the Bantu, show that the term "Kafir" is not only meaningless, but altogether unscientific.

To-day we know that each tribe has its peculiar and distinct type of hut, so that were any one unfortunately "bushed" anywhere between the Cape and the Zambesi without compass or guide, and had any knowledge of the various types of native huts, he could, on seeing a hut at distance of a quarter of a mile, locate himself to something

NATIVE ADHERENCE TO TYPES

over 100 miles (157·2 K.) or so, whether east or west, north or south of the sub-continent.¹

Every standard work of travel in South Africa gives illustrations of the types of hut of each of the tribes described. The journals of the Anthropological Institute contain numberless descriptions of the respective types of huts of the different South African Bantu tribes. These vary as much as sky-scraper differs from bungalow. Each tribe makes its own particular form of hut, and never departs from its type. Though a tribe may migrate and change its territory, its type of dwelling remains identically the same. On moving from a wooded to a country bare of timber, the type of hut of such tribes remains the same though the materials may differ.

South African authorities to whom I sent a circular, for reply, with Professor Maciver's statements as to several Bantu matters, all declare that the conservatism of the various Bantu tribes in the matter of huts, even in most unfavourable conditions, is very marked, there being no change in the smallest detail for at least five hundred years. This conservatism, they consider, is only equalled by the rigid tenacity of the Bantu in adhering to their tribal traditions.

We know from the Portuguese records, and also from the philologist and ethnologist, what main tribes have occupied the rock mines and ruins' area during the last seven hundred if not the last one thousand years. We need, therefore, only concern ourselves with the huts of such tribes, and these types of huts are described in *Great Zimbabwe* (p. 152-6), and also at greater length in works of travel in Southern Rhodesia.

But Professor Maciver's statement lands him in an *impasse*. *Let him point out the type of hut he means, and we can at once inform him what people, according to his working hypothesis, which, of course, is impossible, built the ruins, and*

¹ Dr. Passarge (*Sudafrika, karte 33*) shows the respective locations of Häuserformen :—Bienen Korbhütten, Kegeldachhütten, Quadratische hütten, und Giebeldachhütten.

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were responsible for the "glorified Kafir hut"—i.e. the Temple at Zimbabwe.

But where is the *type* of hut as old as the rock mines, or even one thousand years old? And if found, what authority can Professor Maciver advance to prove that such type of hut was introduced on to this area before the Temple was erected? When he has discovered this type of hut, his assertion that the Temple, with its massive and skilfully constructed walls, its Conical Tower and associated platform, its chevron pattern and its elaborate drainage system, is but a glorified "Kafir hut," may be considered, but not before. A bare one hundred years for such a "natural evolution"¹ in glorification—an evolution "characteristically African"—such are Professor Maciver's own datings and statements, on the part of the unaided Bantu, is, to say the least, grotesque.

But Professor Maciver's brief visit was paid to one territory only and to one people, the Ma-Karanga. We cannot include the Ma-Tebele, for they only intruded upon a part of this area as recently as 1838. Here is another serious *impasse* to his evolution theory. *Can he prove the Ma-Karanga were south of the Zambesi when the first rock mines were sunk, or even later when the Temple was erected?* On this point mining experts, as well as authorities on the Bantu, have very much to say to the contrary. But it is absolutely necessary for him to prove this to have been the case if his argument were worth anything.

Mr. Theodore Bent travelled the country long before the days of railways, and visited several territories which Professor Maciver never saw. Ox-wagon, horseback, and tramping on foot enable one to study the country, the people, and their customs and industries far more closely than can the windows of a *train de luxe*.

Mr. Bent visited, as can be seen in his work, *The Ruined Cities of Mashonaland*, several territories and several peoples. He spent nights in "Kafir huts," and days at "Kafir

¹ As shown in Chapter VII, p. 171, this doubtful period of one hundred years is proved by Professor Maciver's own datings never to have existed.

'KAFIR HUT THEORY' DOOMED

kraals." All he states as to their various and peculiar types is in perfect consonance with the standard writings on South Africa, and also meets with the most cordial appreciation of every single Bantu scholar, born colonial, and pioneer settler. Mr. Bent's work will, for generations yet to come, be gratefully recognised by all ethnologists in South Africa.

But to return to Professor Maciver's "glorified Kafir hut"—*i. e.* the Zimbabwe Temple. Yet another *impasse* faces his theory. *If he should find a type of a "Kafir hut" which is not that of the Ma-Karanga, or which does not belong to any of the other main tribes which, according to the Portuguese records, and the researches of ethnologist and philologist, have intruded on the rock mines and ruins' area within the last seven hundred or one thousand years, then his datings for the erection of the "glorified Kafir hut"—*i. e.* the Temple—must go to the wind in a very summary fashion, for such an intrusion must have taken place almost, if not quite, one thousand years ago, and it must have been such people who evolved and constructed the "glorified Kafir hut" centuries before Professor Maciver's date for its erection.* If his datings for the Temple and other ruins were correct, then his "Kafir hut" theory is doomed. He cannot blow both hot and cold, he must adhere to one theory or the other, for both are wholly inconsistent with each other; in fact, he destroys his own case, which only rests on his characteristically airy conjecture, and is entirely without a shred of substantiation.

But taking such "Kafir huts" as Professor Maciver saw and described, we find still another *impasse* confronting him. We follow him first to Inyanga. The huts here and there erected in the ruins are, he states, the "prototypes" of the actual ruins of Inyanga, and the Inyanga ruins, he asserts, are again the "prototypes" of the "glorified Kafir hut," *i. e.* the Temple at Zimbabwe. *But, as clearly demonstrated in Chapter VII, the "prototype" ruins of Inyanga are of much later date than the Zimbabwe Temple, and were not erected until very long after the rock-mining operations had ceased, while the Zimbabwe Temple was erected sometime during their continuance.* His theory of

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the "natural evolution" of the unaided Bantu was his counter-stroke to the strong *prima facie* case for the Semitic connection with Rhodesia. He, of course, was obliged by his own theory to find some "prototypes," illustrating the "natural evolution of building," which led up from "Kafir hut" to the Elliptical Temple at Zimbabwe. With absolutely no experience of the country, and without having seen a tenth of the ruins which Mr. Bent saw, and these were of various types, he casts about in sheer desperate plight and pitches on the Inyanga ruins, with their "valuable connecting link of Umtali," being even later than Inyanga (p. 189), and consequently of a still later date than the Temple.

But he calmly invites us to examine the "Kafir huts" at Khami, Dhlo-dhlo, and in N'Natali for further proof of his theory of the transition from "Kafir hut" to the Zimbabwe Temple. Here another *impasse* presents itself. *He states that Khami, Dhlo-dhlo, and N'Natali date from the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries only (these are impossible dates), but the date given for the "glorified Kafir hut," i. e. the Temple, he has already stated was "not earlier than the fourteenth or fifteenth century."* Later, in describing the features of the Temple he remarks, "*There is nothing astonishing in these features [at the Temple], for have we not already seen them at Khami, Dhlo-dhlo and N'Natali?*" It is thus he argues backwards, for the huts at these three ruins are, he repeatedly asserts, not only not older than the sixteenth or seventeenth century, but are identical with those at the northern sites, *i. e.* Inyanga, Nani and Umtali! *Therefore, the huts at Khami, Dhlo-dhlo, and N'Natali—the "prototype" huts—were not erected, according to his own datings, until two or three hundred years after the erection of the Zimbabwe Temple.*

But another *impasse*—the sixth—presents itself. As shown seven years ago in *The Ancient Ruins of Rhodesia*, the Khami, Dhlo-dhlo, and N'Natali ruins are of later date than the Zimbabwe Temple (see Chapter XIII, later). They can be shown to be far older than the date assigned to them by Professor Maciver. These ruins represent the

BA-ROSIE STRUCTURES AT KHAMÍ

decadent period when the rock-mining operations had ceased, or, at any rate, when they were nearing their termination; but most probably after their complete cessation. This remark applies to all the ruins lying to the west of the Zimbabwe-Matoppa area, the ruins upon which have specialised and individual features not found in the eastern type.

Mr. Taberer states the Ba-Rosie arrived in Rhodesia about 150 years ago, at any rate not earlier than 200 years ago. An important tribe of Ba-Rosie settled at Khamí, where they found the ruins abandoned. These were Jerri's people. Jerri's people left Khamí and came into Mashonaland in 1837, that is, just when the first advance parties of the Ma-Tebele arrived in the present Matabeleland. The occupation of Khamí by Jerri's people is a matter of history, and not of mere tradition, though native tradition in such matters covers, as is shown in Chapter V, far more than two hundred years. I have conversed with old men of Jerri's who have lived at Khamí ruins. The lads of Jerri's country know all about Khamí, and in their conversations compare it with Great Zimbabwe. The old men of Jerri's inform Native Commissioners and missionaries that their great-grandfathers found Khamí in ruins and deserted, *that they erected their huts there, that they built walls there, using material from the older walls, and that they filled in platforms, put their huts upon them, the bases to support the sides being formed of daga and stones in exactly the same way as the Ba-Rosie build their huts anywhere to-day.*

This is no new discovery. The occupation, as subsequent squatters, of the Ba-Rosie at several ruins is a matter of record as well as of tribal history. The late Mr. Thomas, a missionary at Shiloh in the time of M'zilikazi, is one authority for this information, as shown in *Rhodesian Antiquities*, published by the South African Scientific Association in 1905. But he was not the only one to draw attention to this fact.

Huts which are not two hundred years old cannot possibly be employed to explain the origin of the specialised features

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of the Zimbabwe Temple, which was declared by the Moors to be "very ancient," and was known only to the natives as Toro ("Ancient") at some indefinite time prior to 1505.

One thing is very evident. Professor Maciver appears not to have noticed the substitution at Khami, Dhlo-dhlo, and N'Natali, of clay sides of huts for the wattle-and-daub sides of the Ma-Karanga structures, but of this more will be said later.

What is found in or underneath the floors of such huts is not necessarily contemporary with the stone building. Nankin china is, and might be expected to be, found below such huts.

The large banks of midden débris lying on the eastern side of No. I Ruins at Khami, and in which the large-patterned and parti-coloured pottery is found, is wholly Ba-Rosie. It is not older than one hundred and fifty years prior to 1837, probably even later. It has nothing whatever to do with the original settlement at Khami, which even Professor Maciver claims as older than the Ba-Rosie period. Yet plates illustrating these articles of the Ba-Rosie occupation figure largely in Professor Maciver's work, and on these less than two hundred years' old articles Mr. C. H. Read, of the British Museum, was permitted to report that the builders of Zimbabwe and of the other ruins did not come from Arabia! Professor Maciver is responsible for this new version of "B.S.H.M."

Yet another *impasse*, the seventh. I must have seen during the last ten years many hundreds of circular bases of huts in different parts of the country; others have seen even more than I have. Every one, even the very oldest to be found in the country, even those at the Inyanga pits, has its divided-off place for goats, sheep, and fowl. Each has its raised part for pots and sleeping, its *daga* ring in the centre for the fire, its fixed *daga* stool for the cook, and the ringed holes sunk in the *daga* in which the round-bottomed pots were placed to stand upright. The "partition" behind, which the goats and sheep occupy, is never more than from 12 in. (304 M.) to 18 in. (457 M.) in height. No hut in any of the ruins had or has partitions in the usual sense of the word. Natives state that within a very short

CREEP-HOLE TO MASSIVE PORTAL (?)

time the animals learn to keep to their own side of the hut, but that kids and lambs are somewhat troublesome. None of these low enclosures for goats, etc., are drained, the doorstep being more than a foot above the level of the floor of the hut. This is the case with the bases of huts at Inyanga. No holes are ever made in the sides of the huts to lead off the animal drainage, for the good reason that white ants, rats, and rain water would then enter, and moreover the floors of most huts are sunk to two feet below the level of the surrounding ground. All huts occupied by natives have a decided farm-yard smell in addition to the usual *bouquet d'Afrique* which always clings about them. Animals and human beings were in very close quarters in these huts, which had, on Professor Maciver's own showing, a diameter of but 12 ft. (3·65 M.) to 16 ft. (4·87 M.).

Will Professor Maciver, who states that the Elliptical Temple at Zimbabwe is but "a translation into stone of the principles of a 'Kafir hut,'" explain the origin of the elaborate drainage at Zimbabwe, between which and the very oldest form of hut to be found anywhere in Southern Rhodesia there is such a wide divergence in degrees of culture? I am advised that such a natural "gradual evolution" in sanitation on the part of any known Bantu is impossible.¹

Notes on Dwellings of South African Tribes.

It is most important that the reader should fully grasp some idea of the special types of huts of the several tribes in South Africa. For this reason, a Bibliography of such dwellings is given later, and also a Table of References to authorities on the construction of native dwellings.

As was stated earlier, each tribe builds its own special

¹ It may be noted that Professor Maciver has completely failed to demonstrate "the translation into stone of the principles" of the universally African "creep-hole," "dog-kennel," and "horse-collar" entrances into the massive stone portals rising some twenty-six feet in height, with flights of steps and beautifully rounded side walls, which are to be found in the older type of Zimbabwe structures.

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type of hut, in preserving the form of which it is exceedingly conservative, even in circumstances which are prejudicial to the preservation of such form—for instance, when moving from a wooded country to one quite bare of timber, the form of the dwellings is still maintained in every detail. So rigidly is the tribal type of dwelling adhered to, even in the most adverse circumstances, that it is possible for any one who is aware of such distinctive types, were he lost anywhere in South Africa, to locate himself within a hundred miles or so anywhere on the sub-continent, by noticing, even at a distance, the local type of dwelling.

The author has for some years lived only in native huts, some being of various tribes. These have been erected for him by the chiefs or headmen of the tribes with whom, at various times, he has resided. He has seen many hundreds of native huts of various tribes, in actual course of erection from platform to thatch, whether of clay, or with wattle-and-daub sides. Many of these tribes were remote from districts influenced by the half-bred Arabs and their still more negroid descendants, or by old Portuguese, Coast natives, and later European settlements. Here the types have not been affected, either in construction and plan, or material. His descriptions of such dwellings published years ago have been adopted in the works of scientists and travellers who have gone over the same country, and have seen the same structures.

When, therefore, Professor Maciver writes concerning the subsequent squatters' (Karanga) hut in No. XV enclosure of the Temple, that "this excavator [Hall] did not understand how such huts were made," he assumes without the slightest warrant an intimate knowledge on his part of a subject which is impossible of acquirement within the limits of a few weeks' visit to one small portion only of South Africa. Professor Maciver, as is recognised, was altogether untrained in such matters, and therefore was not qualified to express so off-hand and dogmatic an opinion. This is shown by his being totally unable to differentiate between the huts and articles of one tribe and those of others, and yet these show evidences of completely distinctive types



NORTH ENTRANCE, WITH STEPS.

THE TEMPLE, ZIMBABWE.

(Professor Maciver's "translation in stone" from dog-kennel entrance of Kaffir huts to massive stone portal. Height 20 feet.)

LATE BUILDINGS IN SOUTH AFRICA

which no one can fail to notice. Thus, the remains of Ma-Karanga, Ba-Rosie, Ma-Tebele, Amangwe, and Ba-Tonga are all classed by him as "Kafir"—"ordinary Kafir pottery," "ordinary Kafir hut which one sees anywhere," and "simple Kafir kraal." The term "Kafir" is unscientific, as it altogether fails to specialise or differentiate. It is not to be wondered that he attempted, for the same reason, to place all stone buildings in "one period only," and to claim all as being "characteristically African."

Late Stone Buildings in Natal, Basutoland, Zoutpansberg, Marico, and at Lithako.

But it must be borne in mind that the South African ethnologist and philologist can now state definitely what main tribes of Bantu have or have not had contact with the mines and ruins area within the last few centuries. The archaeological evidences on this point take us back almost a thousand years, as do the traditions of the natives which were recorded in 1560. Certain Karanga tribes, which were once settled on the ruins' area, went, some four centuries ago, south to Natal and Basutoland. This is also historic fact—stated in the Portuguese records and confirmed by current tradition, and ascertained by philologists prior to the re-discovery of the records. There, as shown by Arbousset, Torrend, Bryant, and others, the Karanga influence resulted in a new feature being introduced into those two countries, *i.e.* rude, piled-up stone cattle-kraals. The same influence operated on the Gealeka natives, with an identical result. (Torrend, XXXV.) The Ba-Venda of Mashonaland migrated almost two centuries ago, south of the Zoutpansberg, and introduced, as Moffat, Willoughby, Grant, and Gottsching have shown, a new feature into that country also, *i.e.* rudely piled-up stone cattle-kraals (see also p. 143). The influence of the ancient Leghoya¹ (pioneers of the Baralongs), who occupied for

¹ Dr. Theal considers that probably north of the Zambesi the Leghoya and Baralong were one people. He also believes that the Leghoya, some of whom settled in Basutoland, were also responsible, with the Karanga, for the introduction of stone building into that country.

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a time in Western Matabeleland, resulted, as is shown by Stow, Harris, Campbell, Moffat, Arbousset, Broadbent, and others, in a new feature being introduced into the Marico and Lithako districts, *i.e.* rudely piled-up stone cattle-kraals. The old Baralong influence accounts for stone cattle-folds near Rovala, and on the slopes of the Malassi Mountains near the Vaal River (Moffat, Broadbent, and Holub). Stow also attributes to the Leghoya influence the rude stone fences of the very old Bahurutsi cattle-kraals, as also does Campbell. But in Natal, Basutoland, Zoutpansberg, Marico, and at old Lithako there were no ruins of stone structures previously to the arrival of those intruders from the mines and ruins' area of Rhodesia. All these intrusions of southern territories are matters of ascertained history.

But the most extraordinary feature, and one that militates most strongly against the acceptance of Professor Maciver's speculative theory, is, that some of the main tribes which, as shown by the records of 1560 and by ethnological research, had very prolonged connection with the ruins' area, went north of the Zambesi, away altogether from that area, and *these have never laid one stone upon another in the territories to which they migrated.* If, therefore, the art of stone-building was "characteristically African," why was not stone-building reproduced on those territories? There can only be one explanation, and that is, that these migrations, which took place centuries ago, occurred very long after the art of building in stone, as exemplified at Zimbabwe, had already become lost, and was wholly dissolved into the fortuitous forms of hill defence, and village and cattle-kraal rings of rudely thrown-up stone ramparts, such as are to be seen anywhere in Southern Rhodesia.

Therefore, our quest for the typical "ordinary Kafir hut" must be prosecuted not only on the ruins' area but elsewhere in territories to which the erstwhile main tribes, with the true nomadic characteristics of the Bantu, migrated bodily from Southern Rhodesia. To enable the reader to enter on this quest for the "ordinary Kafir hut," the principles of which we are told were translated into stone

'CEREMONIAL LEVEL' (?) OF HUTS

in the Zimbabwe Temple, the following notes on the dwellings of South African natives collected by the author since 1897, are given.

"Ceremonial Level" of "Kafir Huts."

We may at once write off from among Professor MacIver's "ordinary Kafir huts" the following classes of dwellings as not being translated into stone at Zimbabwe.

(1) *Huts in trees.* Stow (*Native Races of Africa*, p. 550) mentions that certain Bechuana people erected huts in trees at 30 ft. (9·14 M.) above the ground. The Rev. J. Mackenzie (*Ten Years North of the Orange River*, p. 526) states that the Ba-Kone, a Bechuanaland group, made huts in trees. One instance of seventeen huts being in one tree is given.

(2) *Huts on poles.* "The huts of the Ba-Najoa [between Lake Ngami and Chobe River] are built on poles, and a fire is made beneath at night to keep away the mosquitoes" (Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, p. 69).

Other natives immediately north of the Victoria Falls build their huts on poles (Livingstone, *First Expedition* p. 55).

The huts of Ma-Karanga on the Zingesi River (within the locality of the Beza-Chidima *zimbae* of the *monomo-tapas*) were built on high stages on account of danger from spotted hyænas (*ibid.* p. 514).

In 1834 some Zulu people built huts on poles 5 ft. (1·52 M.) and 6 ft. (1·82 M.) above ground (L. Grout, *Zululand*).

Huts, near Shiré River, were built on poles supporting a platform (A. Werner, *Natives of British Central Africa*, p. 18, with illustration).

Stow (p. 550) describes some Bechuana tribes erecting huts on poles 7 ft. (2·13 M.) to 8 ft. (2·43 M.) from the ground.

(3) *Subterranean dwellings*, as in Katanga. These, as described by Livingstone and other writers, are exceedingly old.

(4) *Two-storey huts*, for instance, of the Bakuss, S.W.

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of Tanganyika (Livingstone's *Last Journals*, Vol. II, p. 123).

(5) *Square houses.* These are resultant of the influence of half-breed Arabs, old Portuguese, Coast tribes, Dutch, and of all missions anywhere round the fringe of territories occupied by inland tribes. Livingstone, writing of the square huts in Eastern Nyassaland, states (*Last Journals*, Vol. I., p. 73), "the natives imitate Arabs in building square houses, also in making watercourses for irrigation purposes."

The Ba-Londa, at Shinte's, lat. $12^{\circ}37'$ S., long. $22^{\circ}47'$, make "square huts with round roofs," the walls enclosing the huts are "wonderfully straight," the street being "straight and not tortuous." The *kotla* (audience enclosure) is "square" (Livingstone's *Missionary Travels*, p. 252, 254).

Werner (*ibid.* p. 100) states that the square houses of the Yao are imitative of coast dwellings.

The Ma-Guena (near Tanganyika) "build square houses, the walls being entirely of clay" (Livingstone's letter of September 1869, in Grey Collection, Capetown).

(6) *Floating huts.* Major Powell-Cotton describes floating platforms (Lake Albert Edward), rising and falling with the water, one platform having as many as thirty huts upon it. Floating huts, but only single huts, are found but rarely further south.

(7) *Huts on grass.* On the Lower Shiré and in the Zambesi Delta, huts are built on the tall, thick reed grass, which is bent over in swathes to form a platform. This practice is described by several writers.

(8) *Ostrich-nest dwellings.* These are the dwellings of the Bushmen, and of certain Korana, Namaqua, and Hottentot people. The middle of the dwelling is scooped out like the nest of an ostrich. These nest dwellings are described by Barrow, Holub, J. Campbell, J. Mackenzie, Stow, Thompson, and others.

(9) *Portable huts* of the Korana (Valsch River). "The dwellings are portable, being made of mats spread over a framework of canes. A whole village can be dismantled

'CEREMONIAL LEVEL' UNKNOWN

in a few minutes, and in the course of an hour be reconstructed in another spot distant some three or four miles, as is frequently done" (Chapman, Vol. I, p. 127). But all Bushmen's dwellings are also portable (Thompson). The Berg-Damaras make huts of bushes (Stow).

(10) *Oven, or half-egg shaped huts.* These are made tunnel fashion, sticks being bent so that their two ends are inserted in the ground, mats covering top, part of two sides, and weather end, the front always being uncovered. These dwellings are made by Tamahas (Red People), who are a mixed Bechuana and Bushman people (J. Campbell), and are described by all writers who have visited the north-west of Cape Colony and the west of Bechuanaland.

It would be curious to ascertain what was the "ceremonial level" of these types of dwellings. Science, which is the logic of observed facts, would appear to show that an intention to avoid the damp, lions, spotted hyænas, mosquitoes, white ants, and raiding parties alone prompted the erection of huts in trees, on poles, and even in subterranean places. At any rate, the rudimentary forms of towers erected in honour of "a Kafir chief's favourite wife," or of "thrones," or of sanitary arrangements, or of colossal stone portals as at the Temple, which Professor Maciver claims as being "characteristically African," are altogether absent in these types of dwellings, notwithstanding that such ten types, in a sense, are distinctly "Kafir" and undoubtedly are "characteristically African."

"Ceremonial Level" of "Kafir Huts" unknown to South African Ethnologists.

With reference to "the ceremonial level" of any hut, whether of chief, witch-doctor, or any inhabitant, Professor Maciver must have been entirely misled. This is the unanimous opinion of all recognised Bantu authorities in different parts of South Africa whom the author has recently consulted, none of whom have ever heard of any "ceremonial level" for dwellings of any sort. These authorities have had life-long experience with natives of many tribes. They consider that the risk of white ants

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determines the thickness or shallowness of the base on which the hut stands. Certainly, not one of the many scores of standard works on Bantu ethnology makes reference to such a level being adopted. The author has visited hundreds of out-of-the-way villages of different tribes but has seen no such level employed. Over two-thirds of the native kraals of any tribe from the Cape to Zambesi are built upon perfectly level sites though the site may be on naturally raised ground. These have no "ceremonial level," even for the dwellings of the chiefs. In kraals on hills, or on the flanks of hills, the chief's dwelling is frequently at the lowest point, with the kraal arranged around it in amphitheatre fashion. Where the kraal is among the huge boulders of a granite tor, the chief's residence is most frequently where it is most secluded and where the approach to it is rendered most intricate by the boulders. The position of the chief's hut is fortuitous, except that it is generally placed near the cattle-kraal, or where there is a suitable area sufficiently large for the village gatherings. The suggestion of "ceremonial level," especially as explaining the plan of the temple, or as associating it with the form of nature-worship as practised by the original builders, may safely be dismissed. Further, even supposing such a "ceremonial level" had been adopted by the builders of the "kafir hut," which is altogether improbable, and which Professor Maciver does not attempt to prove, he would also have to demonstrate that the "Kafir hut," which, as already shown, was the dwelling of subsequent squatters, was as old as the main walls of the temple. He himself has proved that it was not. There is no doubt that the chiefs mark out the best positions for themselves.

The Field for Inquiry Narrows.

Having written off as impossible the above ten types of dwellings, we will set out once more in our quest to find the type of hut "the principles of construction" of which, we are told, "were translated into stone" at Zimbabwe.

TRIB.	HEARTHS.	GRANARIES.	AUTHORITIES.
Bahurut.	—	Large jars of clay raised on platforms.	Stow, and general.
Bamang (K)	—	Ditto, but exceedingly large.	E. Holub, R. Moffat, W. C. Willoughby.
1. Baral (Near N' C)	—	"Like enormous oil-jars," capacity, 200 gallons.	Lichenstein, Casalis, R. Moffat.
2. Baral	—	Ditto.	R. Moffat, Stow, and general.
Batlapin (In 1821 was)	Elevated, outside huts.	Ditto, but only 4 ft. or 5 ft. high.	Burchell, Holub, Stow.
1. Bech	Elevated.	Of clay, above ground.	R. Moffat, Thompson, Holub.
2. Bech (N)	Ditto.	Ditto.	Holub, Thompson, Stow.
1. Basut	Sunken hearths, inside huts.	"Enormous corn-bins."	Casali, Widdicombe, Jenkinson.



DWELLINGS OF SOUTH AFRICAN NATIVES

TRIBE AND LOCATION.	PLAN AND DIAMETER.	WALLS.	MATERIALS.	ROOFS.	ENTRANCES.	HEARTHES.	GRANARIES.	AUTHORITIES.
Baburutsi	Circular, exceptionally large.	Vertical, decorated with cornice.	Wattle and daub.	Great conical tops.	Horse-collar shaped holes in walls, not extended to floor, wider part uppermost.	—	Large jars of clay raised on platforms.	Stow, and general.
Bamangwato (Khama's country)	Circular, small in diameter, open verandahs.	Vertical.	Poles and daub.	Conical, supported by poles, also eaves supported by poles at intervals.	Ditto.	—	Ditto, but exceedingly large.	E. Holub, R. Moffat, W. C. Willoughby.
1. Baralong ¹ (Near Mafeking and Thaba N' Chu, and Kuruman)	Circular, and of large size. Sometimes there is fencing between the outer verandah posts, thus forming one hut within another.	Ditto.	Wattle and daub, clay base.	Ditto.	Ditto.	—	"Like enormous oil-jars," capacity, 200 gallons.	Lichenstein, Casalis, R. Moffat.
2. Baralong (Near Marico)	Circular, 16 ft. verandah between posts, built upon three-fourths of circumference, the rest being quite open, a chief's hut.	Ditto.	Thick clay sides or stones set in mortar with wooden spars at intervals; but most frequently poles and daub.	Ditto.	Ditto.	—	Ditto.	R. Moffat, Stow, and general.
Batlapin (In 1823 their "great place" was near Kuruman)	Circular, 16 ft., verandah to st. wide, low wall of clay between verandah posts, forming concentric rings 4 ft. apart.	Ditto.	Poles, with daub on inside only.	Conical, top 10 ft. above ground, centre pole.	Ditto.	Elevated, outside huts.	Ditto, but only 4 ft. or 5 ft. high.	Burchell, Holub, Stow.
1. Bechuanas (At Kuruman)	Circular, verandah 4 ft. wide, not so substantially built as huts of Batlapin or Baralong, and inferior.	Ditto.	Poles and daub, or of clay only.	Conical.	Ditto.	Elevated.	Of clay, above ground.	R. Moffat, Thompson, Holub.
2. Bechuanas (N.E. of Lithakos)	Circular, decorated outside and inside, attempts at moulded pilasters.	Ditto.	Poles and daub.	Conical, of superior construction.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Holub, Thompson, Stow.
1. Basuto	Circular, verandah on entrance side only.	No vertical sides, as these are part of roof.	Wicker and grass.	Beehive, no central post.	Creep-holes on floor.	Sunken hearths, inside huts.	"Enormous corn-bins."	Casali, Widdicombe, Jenkinson.
2. Basuto	Circular, also oblong.	Vertical, 5 ft. high.	Sods, which is stated to be a modern feature and an imitation of settler's methods.	Mushroom, or semi-circular.	Ditto.	—	Large clay bins.	Ditto.
1. Ba-Rotsi	Concentric rings formed by walling up between eaves' posts.	Vertical.	Poles and daub, or clay only.	Conical.	Small, semi-oval on floor.	—	Clay bins.	Colliard, Holub.
2. Ba-Rotsi	Ditto, 20 ft. to 40 ft. (chief's hut).	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.	High angular door, resultant of mission contact.	—	Ditto.	Holub.
3. Ba-Rotsi (Masupia district)	11 ft. diameter, division of huts by suspended mats. Horse-shoe shaped plan (general form).	Ditto, 7 ft. in height.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Small, on floor.	—	Ditto.	Ditto.
1. Ma-Kalolo ² (Immediately north of Victoria Falls)	Circular.	Ditto, low walls.	Not stated.	Ditto, but resembling Chinaman's hat, reaches almost to the ground.	Exceedingly low dog-kennel entrances.	—	Ditto.	Livingstone.
1. Ma-Kalolo (North of Zambesi)	Circular, eaves' posts formed double hut.	Ditto.	Stakes and clay.	Conical, inside of roof plastered with clay.	Arched entrance 19 in. high, 22 in. wide, on floor.	—	Ditto.	Livingstone, Chapman.
Ba-Wemba, or Ma-Venda (N.E. corner of Transvaal)	Circular, of Basuto type.	Vertical, ornamented inside.	Poles only.	Conical.	Entrances slightly higher than in Zulu huts.	—	Ditto.	Grant, Gottschilling, W. C. Willoughby, Holub.
Ma-Bunda (Barotsiland)	Circular, and very broad and low.	Vertical, 6 ft. high.	Poles at 5 ft. intervals only, rest of sides grass.	Almost flat.	Creep-holes.	—	—	T. M. Thomas, Arbousset, and general.
1. Ma-Tebela ³ (Matabeleland)	Circular.	5 ft. high, sides lean inwards from base to summit.	Clay and cow-dung.	Umbrella-shaped, centre-pole.	Entrance very small, and reaching floor.	Sunken hearth in floors.	Excavated holes under floor, called <i>Umhlidze</i> .	W. C. Harris, L. Grout, Bryant.
2. Ma-Tebela (At Kapapin, in Northern Zululand, before 1836)	Circular, no sides apart from roof, 12 ft. diameter, floor dug out for 3 ft.	Beehive, 4 ft. high.	Wicker and grass, with clay base rim.	Beehive.	Ditto, but did not reach the floor.	Ditto.	Clay bins outside hut.	T. M. Thomas, Arbousset, and general.
Omavvo (Ondoga's, W.N.W. of Lake Ngami)	Circular, 16 ft. diameter.	Vertical, 2 ft. 6 in. high.	Poles and clay.	Beehive, total height, 4 ft.	Creep-holes only.	—	"Gigantic baskets."	C. J. Anderson.
1. Zulu	Circular.	—	Wattle, daub and grass.	Beehive, supported by poles.	Low and small.	Sunken hearth in floors.	—	Dudley Kidd.
2. Zulu	Circular, 12 ft. to 15 ft., and 20 ft.	—	Wicker and grass.	Ditto.	2 ft. high, 18 in. wide.	Ditto.	Clay bins, also excavated pits in cattle-krals.	Pieter Retief, L. Grout, Thompson.
3. Zulu	Ditto.	—	Ditto.	Ditto.	"They have to creep into them."	Ditto.	Ditto.	G. N. Mason, T. B. Jenkinson, Bertram Milford.
Ma-Karanga	Circular, 10 ft. to 14 ft., well-constructed.	Vertical, 7 ft.	Poles and daub, and clay rim base.	High cone.	Small hole above floor.	Ditto.	Clay bins on platforms, only.	General.
Nyassa	Circular, verandah, raised on mud basement 6 in. to 1 ft. above ground.	Vertical, 6 ft.	Wattle and daub, poles and daub.	Conical.	Higher doorways, resultant of coast influence.	Sunken hearths in floors.	Basket-work bins raised on platforms, only.	Sir H. H. Johnstone.
Nkonde	Ditto.	Walls lean outwards.	Poles and clay.	Conical, no extended eaves.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
Pondo	Circular.	Vertical, low walls.	Wickerwork and clay.	Low roof, like mushroom, several poles support roof.	Creep-holes.	Ditto.	—	Dudley Kidd.
Swazie	Ditto.	None.	Wickerwork, clay and grass.	Beehive.	Creep-holes.	Sunken hearth on floor.	Granaries, exposed and elevated, also corn-bins on platform within hut.	Dudley Kidd, and general.
Gaza	Ditto.	Vertical.	Stakes, rarely plastered with mud.	Conical.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Huge baskets on platforms.	Ditto.
Angoni (W. of Lake Nyassa)	Circular, 10 ft. to 20 ft. diameter, no divisions.	Vertical, 4 ft. to 8 ft. high.	Poles and daub.	Conical, roof extending almost to the ground.	2 ft. x 2 ft.	Ditto.	Large wicker baskets, and clay cylinders on platforms, roofed.	Dr. Elmslie.
Korana	Circular, 12 ft. diameter, lack of symmetry, quite primitive.	No sides apart from top.	Sticks and rush mats.	Beehive.	Creep-hole.	Ditto.	Small pots.	R. Moffat, Chapman, Holub, J. Mackenzie.

¹ Stow's map of the Migrations of South African Tribes shows "the ancient Leghoya," the pioneers of the Baralong, to have once been occupying in Western Matabeleland. This occupation was not a lengthy one. It, and the occupation by Baralong, is evidenced by certain clay structures in this part of the country described in 1802 by Hall and Neale, and also by the debris of subsequent squatters at certain ruins only.

² The Ma-Kalolo are the Basuto who followed Sebatwane in 1824 from Basutoland to Barotsiland.

³ The Ma-Tebela, who were not a pure Zulu people (Bryant), placed themselves, about 1800, under Chaka, the Zulu King, and occupied in Northern Zululand. About 1836 they migrated north-west to south of the Limpopo, and in 1837 passed into the present Matabeleland.

NO 'PROTOTYPES' IN NYASSALAND

Again, as can be seen in the Table of References and the Bibliography which are given in this chapter, we may also write off certain main tribes of Bantu as not being responsible for any of the phenomena displayed on the ruins and mines' area ; for instance, Zulu, Swazie, Pondo, Angoni, Basuto, Tembo, and Korana. The Ma-Tebele only arrived in 1837, and the Ba-Rosie have not been two hundred years on the ruins' area, therefore it could not have been either of their respective types of dwelling which was "translated into stone" at the Zimbabwe Temple. The Baralong, or some section of them undoubtedly, were in Western Matabeleland, but at some time long prior to the advent of the Ba-Rosie, and Stow's statement to this effect is borne out by the presence of the remains of their massive clay-sided huts on clay and stone bases which are to be found away from any ruins, while it is believed that at certain western ruins Baralong were subsequent squatters. At any rate, the remains of such huts can only be paralleled by the old form of Baralong hut of much further south. But no one could imagine, much less assert, that it was at all probable that the Baralong translated into stone at Zimbabwe the principles of the construction of their dwellings, for there is no evidence, whether ethnological or philological, that Baralong were ever within hundreds of miles of Zimbabwe.

If we turn to the Nyassa tribes the inquiry meets with a similar answer. The Ma-Karanga have in the Manganja a close kindred. It is from that territory that the ethnologist and philologist claim that the Ma-Karanga arrived. But according to the records, and the traditions of the Ma-Karanga given in 1505, the Ma-Karanga must have occupied the ruins' area for seven or eight hundred years, if not for almost a thousand years. Qualified ethnologists and philologists in South Africa are agreed that the Ma-Karanga, though not the first Bantu tribe to cross to the south of the Zambesi, were the first Bantu people ever to settle on the ruins and mines' area. But Nyassaland can furnish no typical hut such as we seek. Moreover, it contains no stone structures and no rock mines. Zimbabwe

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and the rock mines provide the oldest evidences obtainable of any occupation on this area, and there is nothing older than these. Certainly no hut could have survived through all these centuries. The crucial point to be considered is: were any of the present known Bantu peoples south of the Zambesi when Zimbabwe was built? If they were not, then it is futile to seek any further for the typical hut among Bantu dwellings. If they were, where is the type of hut? Even the approximate date for the arrival of any Bantu south of the Zambesi is quite an open question, and consequently it is perfectly useless at present to anticipate its determination.

Therefore, the limits of inquiry for the hypothetical typical hut are narrowed down to one people, the Ma-Karanga, for the area does not provide any evidence whatever of an occupation, except in Zimbabwe and the older ruins and rock mines, of any Bantu people earlier than that of the Ma-Karanga.

The theory of the translation of the principles of construction of a Kafir hut into stone, in the form of the Zimbabwe Temple, must remain a theory, and a theory only. It has already been shown to be impossible, for the simple reason that the art of stone building was not the result of natural evolution of the negroid, but that it was wholly foreign to the negroid, and was introduced, as is shown in the following chapter, in its best form from Asia.

Still, the theory was welcome, not because it might contain the elements of a solution of the problem, but because it opened up a most fascinating study, and moreover it served to suggest points for consideration which otherwise might have been overlooked. Infinite pains have been taken by many in South Africa well qualified to discuss this theory. Much patient research has been brought to bear upon it, and no one can charge South African inquirers for treating it in an off-handed manner. Certainly, sentiment has been put on one side and the discussion was entirely unemotional, as all scientific discussion should be.

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From "Kafir Kraal" to Zimbabwe Temple?

"In Bulawayo he [Professor Maciver] informed us he had seen a large number of buildings in which he could trace the gradual evolution of such a complicated building as that of Zimbabwe from a simple kraal" (Dr. Haddon, *R.G.S.*, April 1906, p. 343).

Thus we learn, on the original authority of Professor Maciver, that the Temple is but a glorified "Kafir kraal." The venue is now changed. In this assertion we find put forward still another evolution—the "natural evolution" in *sanctification* on the part of the unaided Bantu, for

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we shall see later that he himself informs us that the Temple contains "*specially venerated precincts.*" that "*the whole southern division of the Temple was devoted to ceremonial, perhaps to religious uses,*" that it also included enclosures, "*reserved for priests,*" "*where priests officiated,*" also three "*altars,*" that it was a place of "*solemn assembly*" and "*solemn observances,*" etc. It is interesting to find Professor Maciver throwing "*the glamour of sanctity over the Temple.*"

Puzzle : find "*the simple Kafir kraal,*" or a *type* of it, which can be satisfactorily vouched for as being a thousand years old, or as old as the rock mines, or even as old as the Zimbabwe Temple.

I understand, on most excellent authority, that Professor Maciver did not see more than three "*simple Kafir kraals,*" and that these were so close to centres of civilisation that their form could be no criterion as to what a "*simple Kafir kraal*" was really like ; moreover, two of these were Matabele kraals—naturally of the Zulu variety order, the Matabele having only arrived on the ruins' area in 1838. Consequently, his lack of information on this subject rather limits one in replying to him.

The Nomadic Bantu.

Kraals have never been known to remain on one spot for more than twenty years, if so long, for three very good reasons : (1) the native methods of agriculture are such that their land becomes in less time too poor to work, and they then migrate to another site with virgin veld to break ; (2) the effects of their insanitary conditions drive them away within that time, and (3) on the death of a chief, or when lightning has struck the village, it is the universal practice to-day, as according to the records it was a universal practice of all tribes five hundred years ago, to move the kraal elsewhere.

Khama's chief town has been removed to three different sites within the last thirty years. Dr. Livingstone states, "When one Cazembe dies, the man who succeeds him invariably builds his court at another place. The area which



SUMMIT OF MAIN EAST WALL (HEIGHT 27 FEET).

THE TEMPLE, ZIMBABWE.

(The smooth face of wall should be noted.)

THE NOMADIC BANTU

has served for building the chief town at different times is about ten miles (15·72 K.) in diameter. The last seven Cazembes have had their towns within seven miles (11·004 K.) of the present one" (*Last Journals*, Vol. I, pp. 264). "When a man dies in a village the kraal is usually moved." Livingstone also states that the Cazembe moved his court, even when Dr. Lacerda died there (*ibid.*, p. 247). "Their kraals seldom remained many years on the same site" (Theal, VII, 440). The maps of Zambesia are thickly covered with names, such as "—'s old kraal," "—'s new kraal."

Five hundred years ago the residence of the *monomotapas* was constantly being moved to other parts of the same district. "When the *monomotapa* changed his residence everything was first set on fire" (II, 418). The Bantu always were, and still are, a most notoriously nomadic people. This is their great outstanding characteristic, and is clearly shown in the records as being the case five hundred years ago. The map given in Stow's *Native Races of South Africa*, on which is marked the various successive waves of migrations of the main Bantu tribes, demonstrates the inherent nomadic propensities of these people. Not only were they nomadic essentially, but this feature must have been greatly intensified owing to the unsettled state of the country from very long prior to 1505, which compelled frequent and wholesale migrations from and to very widely separated points in the sub-continent.

But the Zimbabwe Temple, which bespeaks years of steady, persistent, and painstaking toil on the part of some people who unmistakably and deliberately intended the building for permanent occupation, by no means suggests, nor do the rock mines, that its builders and the miners were a nomadic tribe. Its colossal walls of dressed granite blocks and elaborate drainage system demonstrate not only most stable times, but a permanently settled people. That Zimbabwe was but a translation into stone of the principles of a wattle-and-daub kraal of any nomadic people is impossible. But where is the wattle-and-daub kraal the principles of construction and *plan* of which

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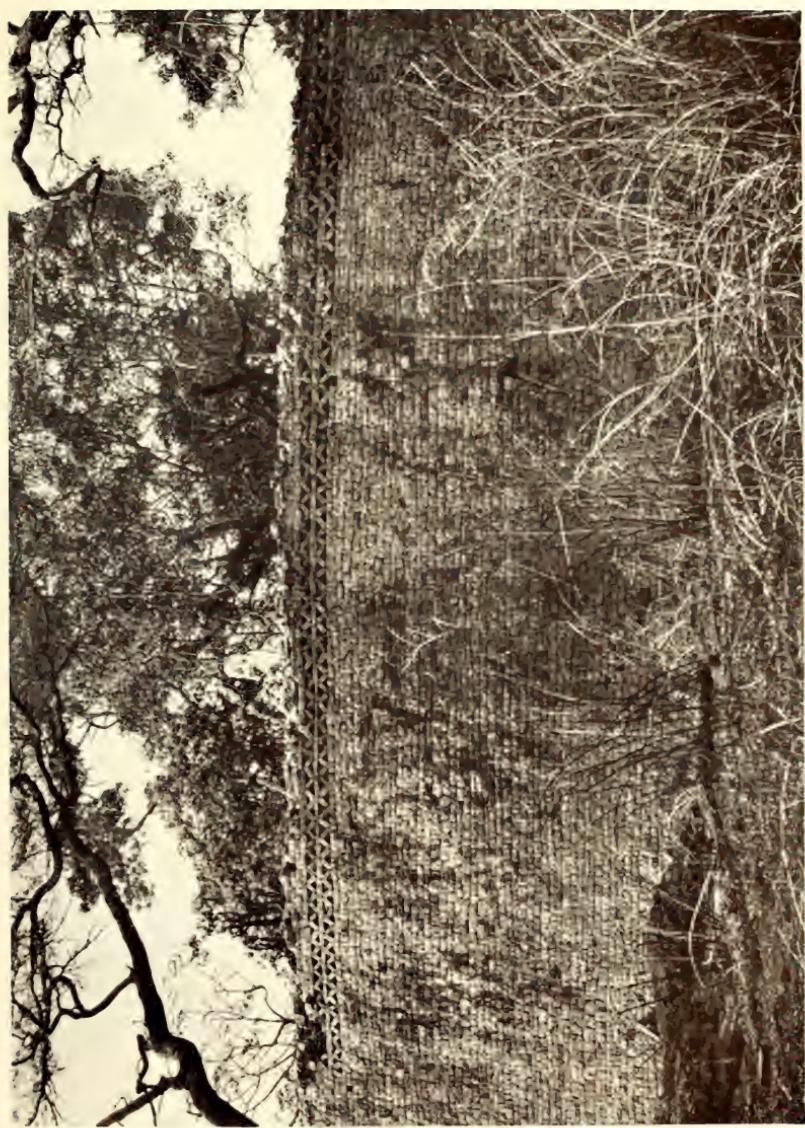
were translated a thousand years ago, as conjectured by Professor Maciver, into stone at Zimbabwe?

On the other hand, it is most probable that the principles of construction and plan of the Zimbabwe Temple were introduced into the country as we find them to-day, and that it was from Zimbabwe that the decadent native, left entirely to his own resources, reproduced in wattle-and-daub and in crude form the general scheme of the huge stone structures which were to be found in the country. That there was centuries ago a most marked decadence not only in building construction, but also in mining and in all the arts and industries, is proved by overwhelming evidences, and this no one would seek to dispute.

Girdle Walls of Kraals are a Relative Late Feature.

But the great obstacle to the acceptance of the "simple Kafir kraal" to Zimbabwe Temple theory lies in the fact that girdle walls and stockades of kraals are relatively late features in Africa south of the Zambesi. Certain of the main tribes which are known, and other tribes which are believed by philologists and ethnologists to have come in contact, even in remote times, with the ruins' area, have never used girdle walls for their towns. This Dr. Theal and Mr. Hammond Tooke and other authorities on the Bantu have recently very satisfactorily demonstrated. Girdle walls for kraals were at no very remote time altogether unknown among tribes in South Africa, and only certain tribes along the Zambesi, which has from time immemorial been the "cockpit" of South Africa, constructed them (Theal, VII, 440), and these may have been suggested by the huge stone walls of the ruins of the oldest Zimbabwe type standing in their midst.

But even in Zambesia the use of girdle walls for villages was very far from being general even in districts where timber for their construction was abundant. There are scores of exceedingly old and long-since abandoned kraals, some possibly two hundred years old, which never possessed girdle walls. Some of these very old kraals in Mashonaland covered great areas along the lower flanks of hills, and



EAST FACE OF MAIN WALL, WITH CHEVRON PATTERN.
THE TEMPLE, ZIMBABWE.

STOCKADES OF LATE ORIGIN

also extended in irregular lines along river banks or ridges of hills, or were dumped down in straggling confusion or dotted about in forests or swampy localities, where girdle walls would have been absolutely impossible. Stockades, as Mr. Hammond Tooke has shown, were not introduced on to the ruins' area until the early historic times, and their general use was described in the records as a novel feature to the Ma-Karanga living on this area. He points out that the very name *chumbo* is a loan word from the Ma-Zimba and Ma-Jagga of the far north, a foreign word to the natives south of the Zambesi, which they in later times adopted. Moreover, the Ma-Zimba and the Ma-Jagga were, in the minds of the southern Bantu, notorious for the use of the *chumbo*, a feature which would not have been so associated with those two peoples, had the southern Bantu themselves been in the habit of employing such structures at their own kraals.

But at a relatively late date the girdle wall appears to have become the characteristic feature of some, but not all, of such tribes as were of the Zulu variety, and so far as the ruins' area is concerned, this applies to the Ba-Tonga and Ma-Tebele peoples ; the Ma-Karanga, on the other hand, having affinity in physical type, language, customs, and arts, with the Manganja of Nyassaland.

But in the territories occupied by the Ma-Zimba and Ma-Jagga, and we may include those of the Ma-Ravi and Ma-Kua, all on the north side of the Zambesi, the principles of construction of their "simple kraals" were never in a single instance translated into stone. Moreover, the grass palisades of kraals, as adopted by tribes south of the Zambesi, cannot be considered as "fortifications" in the sense as applicable to the massive encircling walls of the Zimbabwe Temple.

Therefore, before the "simple Kafir kraal" to Zimbabwe Temple theory could possibly be argued, it would first be necessary to prove satisfactorily and beyond all question, that the construction of immense girdle stockades was a prevailing feature seven, eight hundred, or a thousand years ago, among those non-Zulu variety tribes—such as the Ma-

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Karanga—who had any contact with the ruins' area. The difficulty of discovering a kraal with girdle stockades of that remote period from which the principles of construction from wattle-and-daub could have been translated into stone would be immense, if not insurmountable.

"Kafir kraals," both north and south of the Zambesi, were, and are, built solely for purposes of residence. Yet Professor Maciver has told us that a great part—the larger and most important part—of the Temple was never intended for purposes of residence (*M. R.* p. 74). In this he is quite correct. So that the impossibility of the quest for the prototype "Kafir kraal" with girdle stockade is rendered still more impossible in that such "Kafir kraal" would, if discovered, also have to show by its construction that the main purpose of its erection was for other than mere residential occupation.¹

Further Objections to Kraal to Temple Theory.

But kraals vary in form. They are round, oval, angular, and square-sided, according to the tribes which make them. The kraals of the Ma-Goma (such of the Ma-Karanga whose kraals are among the granite tors of Mashonaland) are totally different in all respects to those of the Ma-Karanga which are on the open veld. The works of travel in Southern Zambesia contain information as to the differences in the kraals of the various main tribes.

Professor Maciver only visited one people—the Ma-Karanga. Can he prove that the Ma-Karanga were south of the Zambesi when the rock-mining was commenced, or even later, when the Temple was built? Herein he fails, for he must first establish the fact that the Ma-Karanga were on the mines' area before the Temple was built, that is, if he seeks to find the origin of the Temple in a Ma-Karanga kraal, for the date he gives for the ruins is very far subsequent to the arrival of the Ma-Karanga!

But all the arguments available against his theory of

¹ See p. 107 as to Ma-Karanga of 1560 deserting their kraals on the approach of the Ma-Zimba raiders because their fences were flimsy and useless for defence.



INTERIOR OF NORTH-EASTERN PORTION OF TEMPLE. MONOLITHS ON SUMMIT OF MAIN WALL.

'SACRED PRECINCTS' OF A KRAAL?

the Temple being but a glorified "Kafir hut" apply with equal force against his assertion that the Temple is but a glorified "Kafir kraal." Let him first point out the type of kraal he means, and then issue can be joined. One cannot well discuss the Unknown and the Undiscoverable.

Can he find in any kraal, or in any type of kraal, the evidences of rudimentary "specially venerated precincts devoted to religious uses," or any rudimentary "thrones"? Or the rudiments which led up to the conical Tower and the large stone birds? The only *sacred precinct* in a "Kafir kraal" is most usually the cattle-fold, always feet deep in manure, underneath which the chiefs of some tribes are buried.¹ But this does not afford much evidence of the "natural evolution" of the unaided native in sanctification.

As shown a score of times in the records of the sixteenth century, the Ma-Karanga places of sacrifices were never at any kraals, but at a considerable distance from them. This is the practice to-day. Further, kraals are built for the purpose of residence, yet Professor Maciver states that a large part of the Temple was not built for residence, but for "ceremonial, perhaps religious uses."

But the mere generalisation upon which the theory of the origin of the Temple being derived from "a simple Kafir kraal" rests, is redeemed by one solitary lucid statement, *i.e.* that the passages at Zimbabwe are wholly "fortuitous" (*M.R.* 72), and therefore these resemble the fortuitous spaces between the huts in a kraal.

This can hardly be the case. At the Zimbabwe Temple the Parallel Passage, 193 ft. (58·83 M.) in length, has walls on either side which do not belong to any other structure than the passage itself. The passage was designed as a passage, and constructed for that specific purpose. This is also shown by the corresponding drains on either side of the passage. It was also floored flush with the drains, and, moreover, was protected by a strongly-built entrance

¹ This was the practice of the Bechuana (Livingstone), the Basuto (Casalis), the Batlapin (Burchell), and also of other tribes.

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which was an original part of the Temple. Further, Professor Maciver has already stated it was intended for a "private approach" (*M.R.* 74). This does not show mere "fortuitous space."

Further, at Zimbabwe¹ there are passages totalling in length 2752 ft. (838·79 M.), two-thirds of which are built with walls on either side which do not belong to any other structures than the passages themselves. Great lengths of these were paved with stones before the side walls were erected, the side walls standing on the pavement. Several of the passages are means of approach to places otherwise unapproachable. These passages, therefore, are not "fortuitous," but most obviously the result of most deliberate forethought and design. The sunken passages also were deliberately made for passages, and such underground passages could not possibly have been "fortuitous."

Thus, the only one archaeological reason given for any similarity of kraal and Temple vanishes.

The passage known as South Passage I have already declared, three years ago, to be fortuitous. This is formed on part of its east side by No. XV enclosure, the walls of which I showed not to be portions of the original building. In this Mr. Franklin White agrees. It is a lack of appreciation of this fact which has led to all the misunderstanding with reference to the old Ma-Karanga hut, or rather the ruined base of such hut, which stood in No. XV enclosure.

There is one point remaining unmentioned with reference to the Kraal-Temple theory, and this is, that Professor Maciver claims to be able to "reconstruct the internal portions of the Temple." This is impossible, as his diggings, which can be seen to-day, demonstrate; and as Professor Doncaster and many other authorities have shown, he never examined the foundations of the walls, and confuses into one period walls undoubtedly of much later periods (see Chapter X).

¹ For descriptions and measurements of passages at Zimbabwe, see *Great Zimbabwe*, pp. 156-62, 246-50, 267-8, 269-73, etc.

NO 'SACRED SYMBOLS' IN MIDDENS

Other Daga Structures in the Temple.

On the platform area, and immediately in front of the conical Tower, are circular bases of two Ma-Karanga huts. These bases are made wholly of *daga* (veld mud) such as was used for daubing the native hut of subsequent squatters in No. XV enclosure.

These circular bases Professor Maciver asserts are portions of the original structure, or, at any rate, that they were the habitations of the original occupiers. This is an incorrect statement.

1. The rubble round these huts fills up and completely buries a drain which runs through the wall into the Sacred Enclosure.

2. The finds at these huts were, as described three years ago, solely of native articles, there being no gold or phalli in the huge piles of midden débris round them.

3. They were erected on a clear, open space, which even Professor Maciver has told us was reserved for those attending "solemn observances" and "solemn assembly," and that it was immediately in front of "the throne" (the platform), which he also describes as "where priests officiated." Whether the great platform were a "throne" or an "altar" does not much matter, though "thrones" and "altars" and "favourite wife towers" make somewhat of an archæological jumble. But if this area were devoted to such a purpose, and all archæologists consider it to have been so used, then the huts not only filled up the area, but their roofs must have completely hidden "the throne" from public view, these being immediately up against it. The great piles of midden refuse lying round these huts would have completed the discomfiture of the worshippers attending the "solemn assembly." The "sacred precincts," so styled by Professor Maciver, were evidently outrageously desecrated, while royalty took matters calmly seeing that midden refuse buried the steps of the "throne" to a depth of some feet. The inhabitants of the huts had in their possession not a single specimen of Professor Maciver's "most sacred symbols."

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But we are informed the "Witch Doctor" resided in these huts. This, too, is a very far-fetched assertion, and ethnologists are wondering how it came to be made. The same applies to his similar statement regarding the hut at N'Natali. Paramount chiefs and their witch doctors never live in the same kraal.¹ Even the Ma-Karanga state that this would be most unusual, and works on the Bantu are very clear on this point.

However, Professor Maciver cut a trial section through one of these bases of huts, and what did he find? Not a single *squanda* load of *daga* to raise the hut to its "ceremonial level." We heard much from him as to the "ceremonial level" of the squatter's hut in No. XV enclosure, which stood upon a pile of *squanda* loads of *daga* (evidently to raise the hut above its damp surroundings. See *No. XV enclosure, the wettest corner of the Temple*, p. 260). The "Witch Doctor's" hut being in a dry position required no "ceremonial level" to be raised. The hut is built upon the flat, and its rim is not 14 in. (304 M.) above the very bottom of its base. But of this Professor Maciver states nothing.

The "Sanctity" of the Temple.

"Mr. Bent," says Dr. Hogarth, "assumed the sanctity of the Elliptical Temple" (*R. G. S. J.*, April 1906, p. 344). Professor Maciver follows in the same strain, though he ignores the monumental and scholarly work of Mr. Bent, and never throughout his book makes the slightest reference to him, except in one single instance, that reference containing, as can be seen, a most grotesque misstatement.

But while Professor Maciver condemns Mr. Bent for throwing, as he asserts, "a glamour of sanctity over the Temple," we find Professor Maciver himself using the following expressions with reference to that building—

"Specially venerated precincts" (*M. R.* 72).

"The whole southern division of the Temple was devoted to ceremonial, perhaps to religious uses" (*M. R.* 74).

¹ A proverb of the Ma-Karanga is to the effect that "Two kings are enough at one time—one on earth and the other in heaven."

'SANCTITY' OF THE TEMPLE

"*Enclosure XI may well have been reserved for priests*" (*ibid.*).

"*Where a priest or king officiated*" (*ibid.*).

"*Altars*" are mentioned eight times.

"*Solemn occasions*" (use of Platform Area) (*M. R.* 72).

"*Solemn assembly*."

"*Solemn observances*."

"*Symbolic or ceremonial reasons*."

"*Ceremonial meaning*."

"*Most sacred symbols*."

These expressions, and others of the same character employed by Professor Maciver concerning the purposes of the Temple, are somewhat strange in the light of his assertions that conical towers are but "Kafir freaks" and probably represent the "favourite wives" of a "Kafir chief."

"South African opinion," states Professor J. L. Myres, "for the most part followed the lead of Mr. Bent, and attributed the ruins to Sabæan Arabians, *or more specifically to the Queen of Sheba*" (*R. G. S. J.*, July 1906, p. 68).

Never was a greater misunderstanding than that printed in italics. I feel sure that on learning the true facts Professor Myres will at once withdraw this charge against Mr. Bent, who cannot now defend himself. Mr. Bent did not make, as can be seen, a single reference to such a matter. In fact, he states what is diametrically the opposite, for he writes—

"*The names of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba were on everybody's lips, and have become so distasteful to us that we never expect to hear them again without an involuntary shudder*" (*Ruined Cities of Mashonaland*, p. 64).

The Queen of Sheba theory was first heard of in 1496, that is four hundred years before Mr. Bent's time, when the coast Moors informed the Portuguese that they possessed tradition that the gold of the Queen of Sheba (whose kingdom was in Saba [Hebrew, *Sheba*] in South Arabia) and that of King Solomon (whose Red Sea port was Erzion-geber) was derived from the auriferous hinterland of Sofala, which in 915 A.D. was known to the Arabs as Safala 't il Dhab, or

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"the low-land of gold" (see earlier, p. 69). This is still the tradition of the coast Arabs of to-day.

The Portuguese records are full of references connecting the "ancient ruins" and "the foundations of palaces and castles" with both Queen Bilkis and King Solomon, while the Dominican priests of the sixteenth century who actually saw the ruins stated they were the remains of "the factories of the Queen of Sheba," and, further, that the rock mines were "King Solomon's mines." But this was three hundred to four hundred years before Mr. Bent visited Zimbabwe. Mr. Bent's "lead" must have been of an astonishingly retrospective character!

Further, the Cape Dutch of early in the seventeenth century, hearing of the Arab tradition, attempted to discover in the north of the Vaal "the city of the Queen of Sheba" at Zimbabwe, and the "gold mines of King Solomon." The Dutch dispatched overland expeditions to the north even in Van Riebeck's time (1652-62), the later expeditions being under the respective commands of Gabbema, Danckert, Meerhof, Everaert, and Van der Shel. The fate of these expeditions is a matter of Cape Colonial records, which show that these expeditions never reached what was then called "King Solomon's mines."

But this was at least three hundred years before Mr. Bent's time. Evidently Professor Maciver did not know "his Arabian, Persian, Portuguese, or Cape Dutch writers," or he, and those who too implicitly relied on his statements, would not have brought this unfounded charge against Mr. Bent.

Dr. Karl Mauch (1871), in his published notes, which, by the way, are excellent so far as the descriptions of the actual walls are concerned, was the last writer ever to connect Zimbabwe directly with the Queen of Sheba (Saba). No later writer has done this. The nearest approach made to such a connection is the bare mention of Marib, the capital of the Queen of Sheba, for the purpose of locating in the public mind the position of the country which is still believed by the highest scientists in Europe to have been directly or indirectly responsible for the gold-mining operations in pre-historic Rhodesia. Such a



THE LATE MR. THEODORE BENT, F.R.G.S., EXPLORER OF GREAT ZIMBABWE, 1891,
AUTHOR OF "THE RUINED CITIES OF MASHONALAND."

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MR. BENT'S EVIDENCES STAND

reference, for such a purpose, is, from a scientific point of view, perfectly justifiable.

But Professor Myres's suggestion that Mr. Bent was convinced that the Sabaeans of South Arabia were in some measure responsible, either directly or indirectly, for both Temple and rock mine is perfectly correct. Mr. Bent's genius was constructive. Professor Maciver's is destructive, necessitating, as we have already seen, the unnatural and painful straining at gnats and an insatiate appetite for camels. It is on Mr. Bent's positive evidences, which the actual mines, walls, and relics confirm, that to-day leading scientists in Europe prefer to base their conclusions as to the probable origin of the "culture" displayed in prehistoric times in rock mine, building, ceremonial, and arts and industries displayed on this area.

At any rate, it is held "by those who are qualified to judge" that a strong *primâ facie* case for further inquiry as to Sabean influence in Rhodesia has been established, and that it is much too early to shout "*Exeunt, the Semitic connection!*"

But now follows the climax. We are told, "*Those who were well qualified to judge of this point [the academic writers who know the Bantu from a distance of six thousand miles (9432· K.)] regarded the modern Kafir [? Bantu], with his peculiarly autocratic chieftaincy, as competent to organise both the buildings of a Zimbabwe and the workings of King Solomon's mines.*"

The humour of this assertion is exceptionally grotesque, and evidences a startling lack of even the most elementary knowledge of the Bantu.

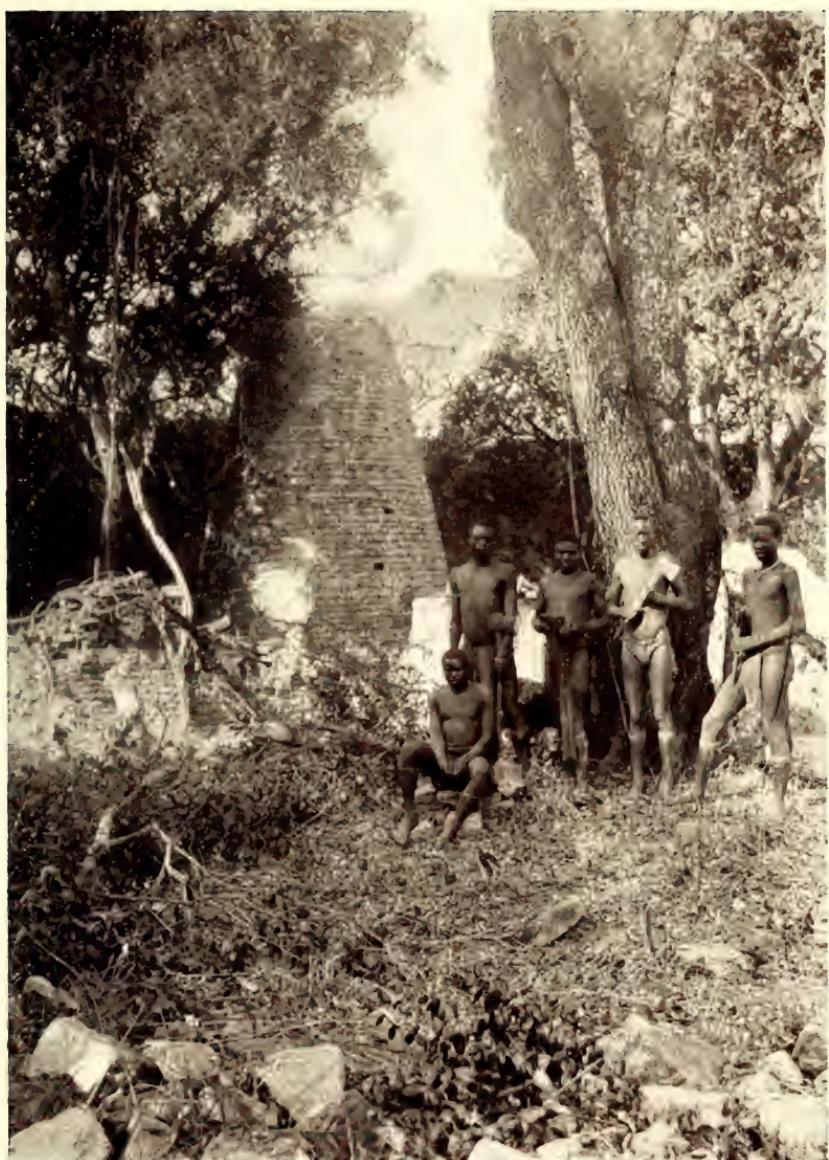
When that writer has attempted to show that a "Kafir chief" [? Bantu] can summon up at will, and cause to be originated and displayed, culture and skill in rock-mining, building, use of chemicals in arts and industries, sanitation and "sanctification," unknown among any Bantu, and especially during a period when (according to Professor Maciver's datings) his "empire" was, as is shown in the Portuguese records, fast being disrupted, and was torn by "continual wars," we may stay to consider his evidences

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which at present are conspicuous by their complete absence. No "modern Kafir chief," however "autocratic," can command "culture."¹

But we are told, "There is no doubt that those who were responsible for the development of Rhodesia [Mr. Rhodes and the Chartered Company] were not unwilling that the glamour of a Biblical past should be shed over the new territory." This, so far as the late Mr. Rhodes is concerned, is very far from the truth. In over a score of conversations with that gentleman as to ruins and mines, he never once suggested such a connection. Some of his most intimate friends, whom I have since consulted, characterise it as wholly incorrect. Such a charge can be dismissed. South Africans consider it not to be *springboken*.

¹ "The organisation of labour implied by the elaborate and decorated stone architecture is extraordinary when compared with the constructional efforts of the modern Bantu."—*Nature*, Vol. lxxv, p. 369.



THE CONICAL TOWER.

(Prior to excavations being commenced by the author.)

THE TEMPLE, ZIMBABWE.

CHAPTER XII

THE CONICAL TOWER AT ZIMBABWE

An Evidence of Asiatic Influence.

THE great Conical Tower which stands in the eastern enclosure of the Elliptical Temple at Zimbabwe has always been and still is claimed by scientists of the highest reputation as being cast in a Semitic mould,¹ that is, that the Tower is an evidence of an intrusion, either direct or indirect, of Asiatic influence in South-east Africa in some remote pre-historic times.

This claim has in certain quarters recently been questioned, but with little effect, and even those who were at first inclined to account for the presence of the Tower on other grounds than those of an intrusion of Asiatic influence, are coming round to the views they held before the more recent and exceedingly hazardous explanations were advanced.

But there is unanimity of opinion among all who have taken part in this discussion, that the Tower, whatever its origin might be, could have served no possible practical purpose. It could have been no watch-tower, for the neighbouring walls provided a far better outlook; there were no means for ascending it; no structure, whether of wood or stone, had ever been erected so as to enable ascent to be made, and an examination of its face proves

¹ Throughout this volume the term "Semitic," as applying to culture and not to race, is given in a general sense,—"For the culture of the Semites was Sumerian, the Semitic races owing their civilisation to the Sumerians. That is as much as to say that a great deal of what we call Semitic culture is fundamentally non-Semitic." (King and Hall's *Egypt and Western Asia*, p. 135).

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that it had never been habitually climbed ; moreover, its conical form having been completed to its apex—and this is demonstrated by the amount of dressed block débris round its base—there could have been no platform on its summit to which an ascent might be made ; and, further, that the tower is perfectly solid¹ and contains no treasure chamber.

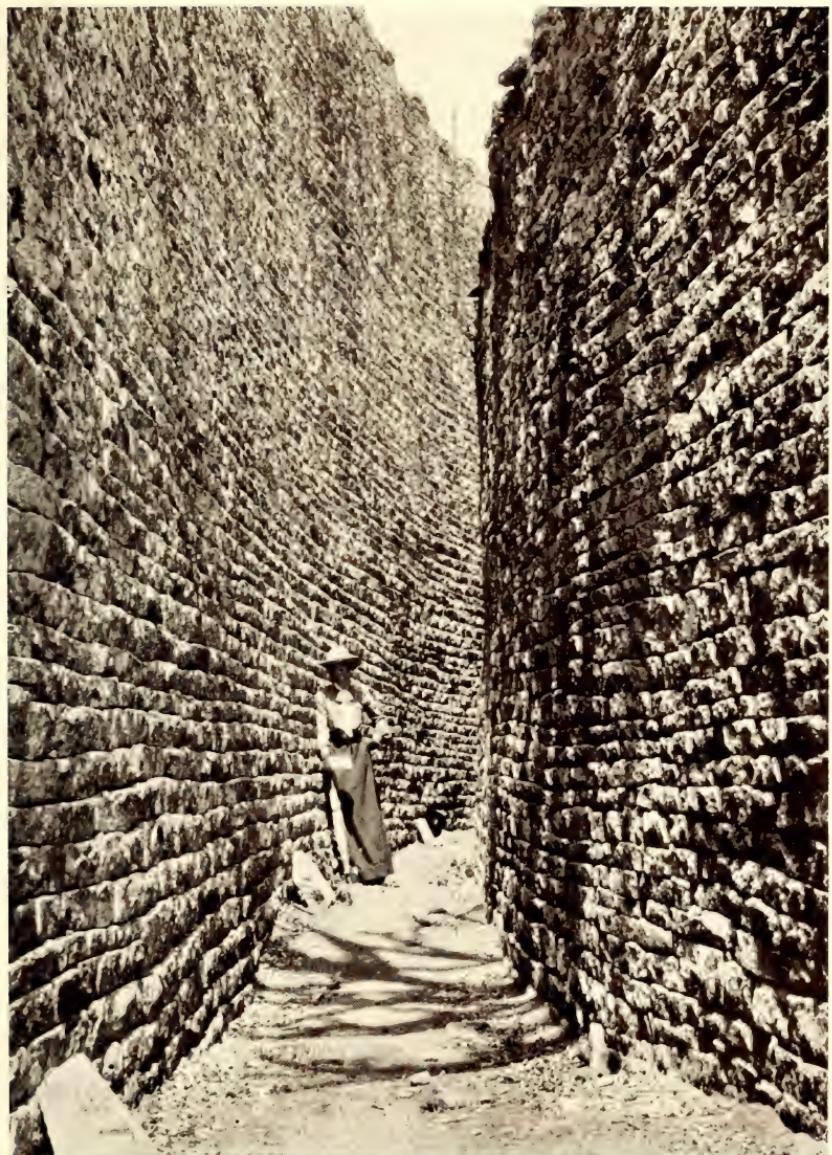
But those who seek to dispose of the Semitic mould which the Tower portrays employ self-destructive arguments. Thus it is stated (*Medieval Rhodesia*, p. 73), “The conical form is probably only the result of the exigencies of building which required a severe batter in a building of such a height,” *i.e.* that the structure was a mere chance “freak” of Kafir builders. But on the same page we are informed that the Tower possibly was symbolic of the influence of “a Kafir chief,” and that the small tower which stands beside the large cone might have been symbolic of the influence of the Kafir chief’s “favourite wife.” The Tower could not have been both “purely accidental” and “symbolic.”

“Exigencies of Building” provide no Explanation for Conical Form of the Tower.

No archæologist can accept the suggestion that the presence of the Tower is accounted for by the “exigencies of building,” for the archæological evidences are diametrically opposed to such an assumption.

The Tower still remains 31 ft. (9.44 M.) in height, and at this much reduced height the batter back is 6 ft. 1 in. (1.854 M.), whereas the main east wall immediately adjoining the Tower, and only 4 ft. (1.219 M.) from it, has in a height of 30 ft. (9.143 M.) a batter back at its summit of only 2 ft. 4 in. (.7115 M.). Therefore, if the old builders could carry up the main walls to the same height as the Tower with two-thirds less batter than that of the Tower, it

¹ In Lucian’s *De Syriâ Deâ* (§ 29) it is stated that the two temple-towers at Hierapolis in Mesopotamia stood in the propylæa of the Temple. Lucian says, “These phalli are solid.”



PARALLEL PASSAGE (LOOKING EAST) LEADING TO THE CONICAL TOWER ENCLOSURE.
THE TEMPLE, ZIMBABWE.

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FORM OF TOWER INTENTIONAL

is evident the "exigencies of building" did not account for the severe batter back and the conical form of that structure.

At other points the batter of the main walls is as follows—

Height of wall, 30 ft. (9·143 M.). Batter, 1 ft. 8 in.
(·507 M.).

Height of wall, 31 ft. 6 in. (10·42 M.). Batter, 1 ft. 4 in.
(·406 M.).

These measurements clearly prove that the builders could with the greatest possible ease carry up independent walls to a height of 31 ft. (9·44 M.), with a batter of only 1 ft. 4 in. (·406 M.), that is, with far less than a quarter of the batter given to the Tower at that height. Thus, the "exigencies of building" most patently did not account for the conical form of the Tower, the shape of which was, as can be seen on inspection, deliberately preconceived from the moment the second course of blocks in its base was laid. The decided batter back of the Tower is most perceptible in its very lowest courses, whereas no batter back is perceptible in the lower portions of any of the main walls. Not a single wall at Zimbabwe has, on either face, at a height of 10 ft. (3·046 M.) above its foundations, a batter in any way approaching 1 ft. 7 in. (·482 M.), which is the batter of the Tower at that height.

The granite blocks of the Tower are admitted by every one to have been dressed. This is so. But not only are they dressed, but they are specially dressed on their faces and sides to suit the radii of the circumference of the Tower at all its heights. Thus the blocks from the present summit of the Tower are dressed to a smaller radii of circumference which would render them altogether unsuitable for use in the lower courses, and *vice versa*. This is a feature which is to be seen in every single rounded end of a wall, or rounded entrance, at Zimbabwe, plainly indicating a most deliberate intention from the laying of the very lowest course to the summit to give the structure a decidedly conical form.

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Conical or "Cylindrical"?

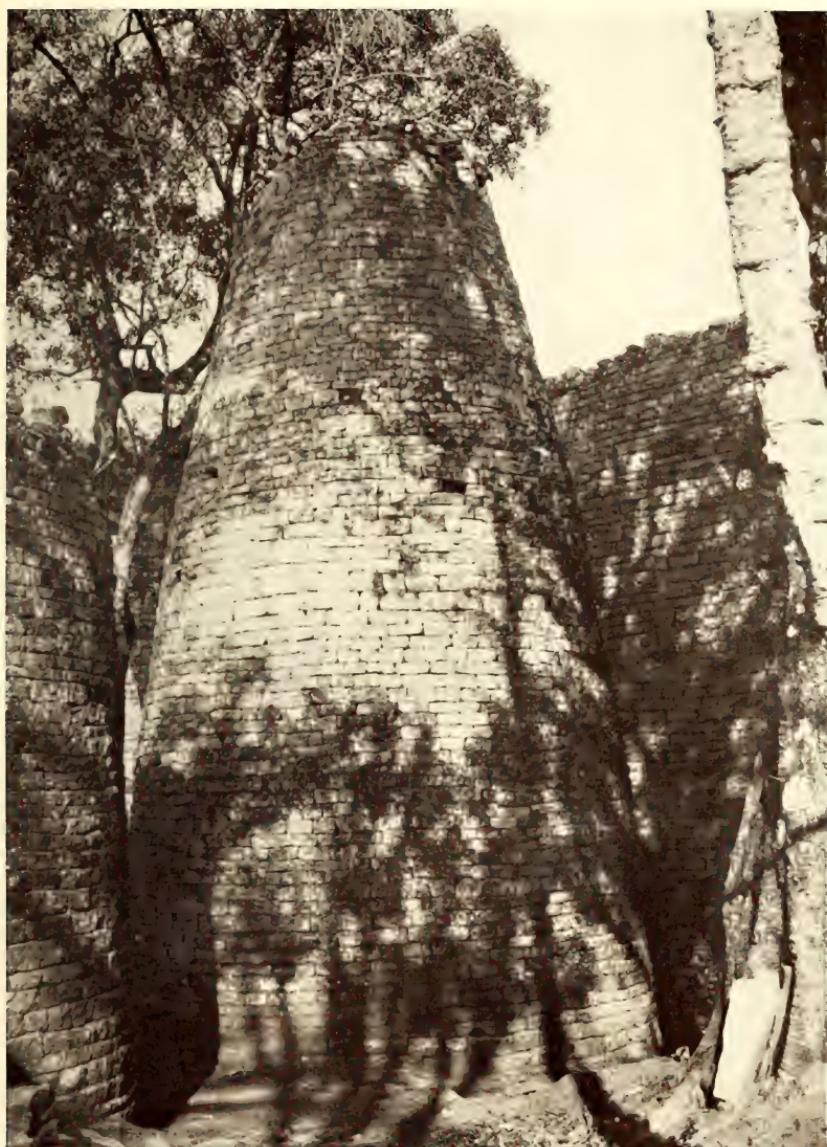
Again, we are told (*Mediaeval Rhodesia*, p. 73) the Tower is "cylindrical," that is, of uniform circumference. This is an extraordinary statement, suggesting that the opponents of the argument of an intrusion of Asiatic influence into these regions are terribly hard pressed for excuses to urge against the Semitic mould of the Tower. But respect for science, which is the logic of observed facts, is incompatible with such a suggestion, as the following table of measurements of the Tower makes very clear.¹

Height.	Circumference.		Batter.		
Eng. Lin.	M.	Eng. Lin.	M.	Eng. Lin.	M.
Base	—	57 ft. 6 in. ...	17'52		
5 ft.	1'52	53 ft. 8 in. ...	16'36	5 in.	0'127
10 ft.	3'04	50 ft. 4 in. ...	15'34	1 ft. 7 in.	0'482
15 ft.	4'57	46 ft. 1 in. ...	14'04	1 ft. 10 in.	0'55
20 ft.	6'09	39 ft.	11'89	2 ft. 6 in.	0'762
25 ft.	7'61	32 ft.	9'75	4 ft. 2 in.	1'269
27 ft. 6 in.	8'38	30 ft. 2 in. ...	9'19	5 ft. 5 in.	1'650
31 ft.	9'45	(broken summit)		6 ft. 1 in.	1'854

[The batter of the cone was measured on its south-east side, and is shown in *Great Zimbabwe*, p. 241. These measurements were again checked in 1906 and found to be correct.]

Thus the arguments of the "exigencies of building" and of the "cylindrical," rather than the conical form, advanced in *Mediaeval Rhodesia* provide no ground for the assumption (p. 67), "It is unnecessary to fly to Arabia to find examples of a style of construction which any one who has read the previous chapters [the pure assumptions in which

¹ The Tower contains, even in its reduced condition, owing to dilapidations, 239 cubic tons of granite blocks (242'835 Milliers). Several cubic tons of blocks from its summit were found lying round its base, while some tons of Tower blocks have been utilised by subsequent squatters in the construction of poorer and obviously later erections in the vicinity of the Tower. Any defect noticeable in the splendidly symmetrical form of this colossal structure is, as practical builders of to-day affirm, not due to poor workmanship on the part of the builders, but to the pressure of the enormous weight of granite blocks and to the damage caused by small trees and hardwood creepers which until 1902 grew on its summit and sides.



CONICAL TOWER (SOUTH SIDE).
THE TEMPLE, ZIMBABWE.

NO RUDIMENTARY TOWERS

have already been proved to be impossible] will recognise to be thoroughly characteristic of ruins all over Rhodesia [which Professor Maciver never visited, and which do not contain a single tower, not even in a rudimentary form], from the rough forts and enclosures of Inyanga or Nani to the beautiful little N'Natali [all of which ruins are considerably later in date than the Zimbabwe Temple, and which but represent the Zimbabwe construction in its later and decadent form]." It is thus he argues backwards from his own conclusions.

A Mythical "Cylinder."

But it is also sought to deprive the Conical Tower of its special significance by suggesting that there were other towers in its vicinity. This assumption would presuppose the contemporaneous existence of other "favourite wives." Professor Maciver states (*Medieval Rhodesia*, p. 73), "It is moreover asserted, on the authority of one of the original gold-hunters who ransacked this site, that yet another minor cone or cylinder once stood on the other side of the large one."

This is impossible for the following reasons—

(1) The first "gold-hunters" worked in Zimbabwe Temple in 1892, or about twelve months after Mr. Theodore Bent had left the ruins. The pioneer column arrived on the Tuli Road, 15 miles (24·139 K.) from Zimbabwe, in 1890. I have submitted Professor Maciver's statement to several of the members of the column who paid visits to the Temple while the column was resting on the Tuli Road, and they pronounce it to be without the slightest justification.

(2) In 1891, Mr. Theodore Bent, who paid, as can be seen in his book, considerable attention to the "Sacred Enclosure," shows the "cylinder" could never have existed.

(3) Mr. W. Ellerton Fry, of the Royal Observatory, Capetown, who was the official cartographer and photographer to the column, and who took the very first photographic views of these ruins, states that Professor Maciver's "cylinder" never existed.

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(4) Nor was it there in 1871 when Mauch was at Zimbabwe. Sir John Willoughby explored and surveyed the Temple in 1891, and noticed no second minor cone, while Messrs. Posselt, who resided and farmed within sight of the Temple two years before the arrival of the pioneer column in 1890, state there was no such cone. Thus, if all these who knew the Temple before the original "gold-hunters" commenced their operations in 1892, declare that such cone did not exist, the proofless assertion to the contrary may safely be dismissed.

(5) The Zimbabwe Ma-Karanga, who have lived at the ruins for sixty years, and the Amangwa of Nini, who lived there for a century or two previously, all state, on being questioned, that it never existed. Natives, as all writers since Livingstone's time show, and as all explorers in these regions are fully aware, are particularly observant as to the presence or absence of artificial objects.

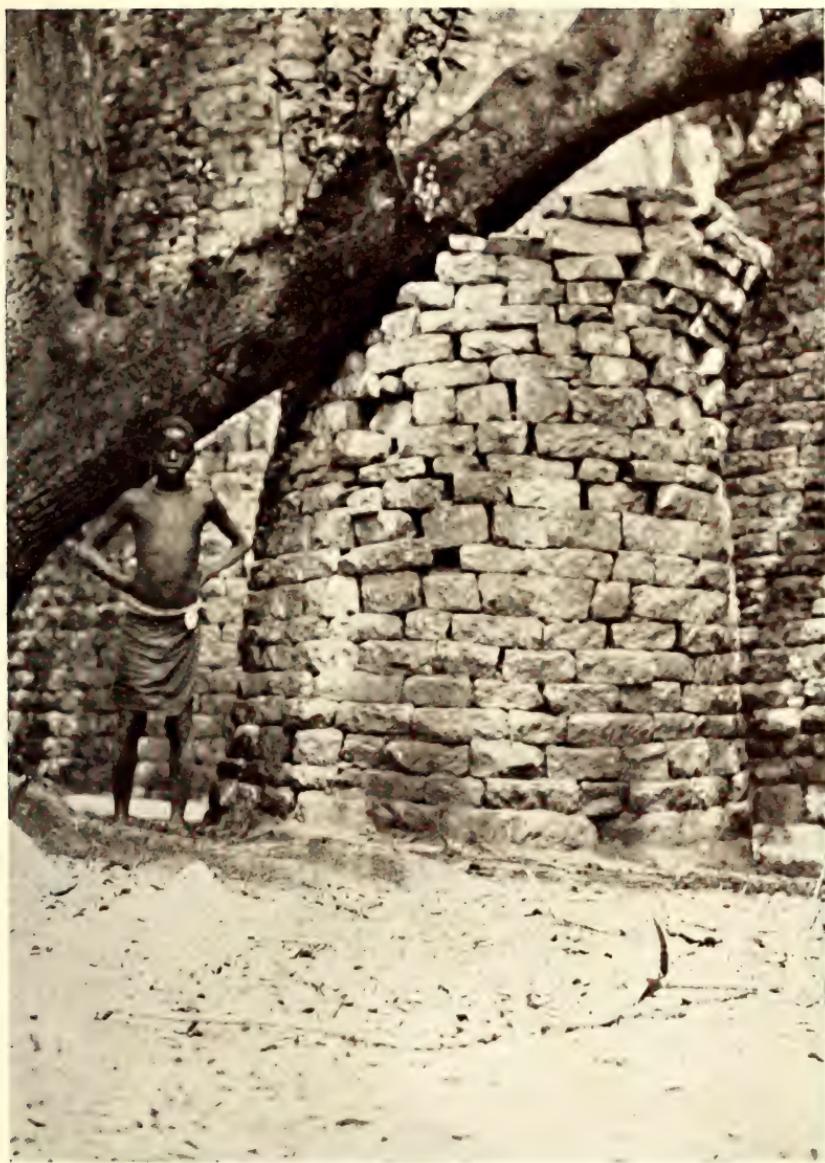
(6) The site of such a cone conjectured by Professor Maciver is impossible, for the very good reason that it is occupied by a drain, some steps, and a tree which is fully one hundred and forty years old. Moreover, no block débris which could have belonged to such a tower was discovered in 1902-4.

The Small Cone.¹

This stands in the "Sacred Enclosure" on the north side of the large tower. Mr. Bent did not consider this small tower had anything whatever to do with the original building of the Temple, that it was a subsequent erection. It is of obviously later construction, and its workmanship, which is poor and scamped, cannot for one moment be compared with that of the large tower.

(a) On ascending to the summit of the large tower one

¹ The small conical tower is at its present reduced heights : west side, 3 ft. 2 in. (·96 M.); south side, 4 ft. 6 in. (1·37 M.); east side, 6 ft. 6 in. (1·98 M.); north side, 5 ft. 3 in. (1·64 M.). Its circumference at base is 21 ft. 1 in. (6·50 M.), and at 4 ft. (1·31 M.) above its base the circumference is 19 ft. 10 in. (6·08 M.), the dilapidation being so serious as to prevent a measure higher than 4 ft. (1·31 M.) being taken (see *Great Zimbabwe*, p. 244).



THE SMALL CONE.

(Considered to be of later date than large tower.)

THE TEMPLE, ZIMBABWE.

THE SMALL CONE LATER

sees at once that it was in its internal parts carefully and admirably well constructed, that the courses extended from face to face of its circumference, and that bonding stones or "throughs" were introduced at intervals to strengthen the structure at its higher courses.

But on examining the small, or "favourite wife" cone, it is found to be but an outer shell of unequally sized blocks laid in uneven courses, with the whole of its interior roughly filled in with stones of all shapes and sizes without the slightest attempt having been made to preserve courses, and among the stones so thrown in are dressed blocks which had once been exposed for centuries in the exterior face of some other structure.

(b) The small cone stands upon the surface of a cement floor which was not laid until *after* the large tower had been erected, for the cement flooring covers the whole enclosure and runs up to and against the lower courses of the large tower as closely as water frozen in a tumbler, thus completely burying some of the lower courses of the large tower.

(c) The finest specimens of phalli ever found at Zimbabwe were discovered (1903) *under* this cement floor upon the surface of which the foundations of the small tower stands.

The small cone has been examined by many archæologists both prior and subsequently to Professor Maciver's visit, and all are agreed that it has nothing in common with the large tower, save, as I stated some years ago, that it was mainly constructed of the block débris which had fallen from the dilapidated summit of the large tower close up against which it stands, it being the work of subsequent squatters at the Temple, and, to adopt Professor Maciver's own expression, exactly similar to "the slovenly work of later builders" in other parts of the Temple.

The Two Hypotheses.

There can only be two hypotheses as to the origin of the Conical Tower, these being either (1) the altogether unaided conception and evolution of some negroid race

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who by chance stumbled across this particular form of structure, or (2) that its presence is accounted for by an intrusion of Asiatic influence, the culture being transmitted either directly or through an African medium.

The Tower is not of Purely Local Origin.

Supposing, just for the sake of argument, that the origin of the Tower were the result of a natural evolution on the part of the local negroid unaided by Asiatic influence, we should then be faced with a *reductio ad absurdum*, in that a barbarous African race on its own initiative must have accidentally, and contemporaneously, stumbled across—

(1) The conical form of tower which closely parallels the conical towers of ancient Semitic countries.¹

(2) Its symbolic purpose, seeing it could have served no practical purpose.

(3) A form of phallus-worship practically identical with that of ancient Semitic countries.

(4) The employment of carved stone phalli and their ornamentation similar to decorated phalli found in the Near East and Western India.

(5) The “cup or ring” linga, or cylinder, embossed with rosettes in concentric rings, as on the Paphos cylinder.

(6) The vulture birds carved on stone beams.²

(7) The erection at Zimbabwe of hundreds of huge stone monoliths, which Massoude (915 A.D.) states was a feature of Arabian temples.³

¹ In King and Hall's *Egypt and Western Asia* reference is made to “the great cone” at Sinai in the Elamite Kingdom (p. 159); to the remains of a “temple-tower” at Ninib at Babylon (p. 166); to the “temple-towers” erected by Gudea at Shirpurla in southern Babylonia (p. 217); to “massive temple-towers” at Samarra on the Tigris (p. 284); to “cones” in Assyria (p. 392); and to the “temple-tower” of Ashur (p. 410).

² Herr Brugsch and M. Naville believed the images of the birds found at Zimbabwe emphasised a Sabæan influence having existed in pre-historic Rhodesia (quoted by Bent, also in *Great Zimbabwe*).

³ Professor Müller states that in the ancient Temple of Arabia “sacred inscriptions to the deities were set upon stylæ (vertical beams). At Zimbabwe some scores of carved soapstone beams have been dis-



PARALLEL PASSAGE (LOOKING NORTH) LEADING TO THE CONICAL TOWER
ENCLOSURE.

THE TEMPLE, ZIMBABWE.

ASIATIC PARALLELS

(8) The employment at Zimbabwe only of decorative patterns which are not "characteristically African," such as (*a*) the lotus pattern (Egypt and India), (*b*) the continuous circle pattern (Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, India), (*c*) the sun disc pattern (Egypt, Babylonia, and Semitic countries), and (*d*) the spiral pattern (Egypt).¹

(9) The astragali pattern ingot mould, identical in form to the ingots used by Egyptian, Phoenician, and other Semitic countries.

(10) The form of the huge soapstone bowls, which have no parallel in form or design with any bowls made by any known Bantu people.

(11) A skill in rock-mining, which is testified by scores of qualified mining experts as not only being beyond the

covered, also ten vulture birds perched on soapstone stylæ. At Zimbabwe there must also have been considerably over two hundred monoliths, some being of immense size and weight. These are described in *Great Zimbabwe*, pp. 104-6. Massoude (915 A.D.) also describes the unroofed temples, the round towers, and upright stones in the temples of South Arabia.

Mr. Bent, in *Southern Arabia*, p. 134, states that in the Hadhramont he found "upright stones decorated with geometric patterns, somewhat similar to those found in the Mashonaland ruins."

¹ The cult of the solar-disc, Alten Ra, the object of veneration, was of Asiatic origin, the Alten being the Asiatic Baal, the disc being the visible manifestation of the Sun-god. Further, "rosettes and lotus" formed the ornamentation of the Jewish Temple at Onion in Egypt (*The Egypt of the Hebrews*, Professor A. H. Sayce, pp. 55, 157).

In Dr. S. Lefman's *Geschichte des alten Indiens* are shown stone Sun-god bird (page 352), large phallus with lotus pattern, also the cylinder linga (p. 362), large phallus with lotus pattern, also cylinder linga, and practice of circumambulation of the phallus (p. 453), lotus, sun-disc, herring-bone and chevron patterns associated with phallus (page 567), and also clusters of stone monoliths with ornamental summits as at Zimbabwe.

In Fergusson's *Rock Temples of India* lotus, chevron, and sun-disc patterns are shown in association.

The spiral and lotus patterns are found in association in Egypt (*Egyptian Decorative Art*, Dr. Flinders Petrie, p. 17).

Dr. Petrie informs the writer that the continuous circle pattern found at Zimbabwe is decidedly of Eastern origin, possibly Assyrian (*Great Zimbabwe*, p. 110).

Almost all the articles decorated as above were found on the lowest floor of the enclosure, which contains the Conical Tower.

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capacity of any known Bantu people, but as identical with skill and methods in mining in ancient Asiatic countries.

(12) The art of building in dressed granite blocks, as exemplified at the Temple at Zimbabwe.

That these twelve examples of culture (and others can be cited) were accidentally stumbled across and independently originated in combination by the unaided Bantu "not differentiated from the present native," and then displayed in colossal form, finally falling into absolute oblivion, all within four hundred years (this is the period claimed by Professor Maciver for the initiation, evolution, display, and oblivion of these phenomena in culture), is altogether impossible. This is certainly a most hazardous assertion on Professor Maciver's part. It is put forward without a shred of evidence being adduced in its support. All standard works on South African ethnology are opposed to such a conclusion, and every ethnologist of the Bantu of to-day expresses himself as opposed to what is considered to be an absolutely untenable theory.

Yet all these phenomena are but the ordinary characteristics found, also in combination, in Arabia, Western India and the Near East, while nowhere else in Africa, south of the Great Lakes, is any single one of the twelve phenomena to be found except on the well-defined area of the pre-historic gold mines in Southern Zambesi.¹

¹ But a further strange "coincidence" presents itself. Did the unaided negroid accidentally stumble across the striking parallelism in plan, construction, and decoration between the Zimbabwe Temple and the ancient Temple at Marib, the capital of Saba, or Sheba, in South Arabia?

The resemblance of the two buildings is certainly most remarkable, as is also the resemblance in the form of ceremonial practised in both buildings.

For instance, Professor Müller, of Vienna, the great South Arabian archæologist (*Bergen und Schlosser*, ii, 20), compares these two ruins as follows—

MARIB.

Plan, system of curved walls,
direction of mural decoration.

Inscription is in two rows, and
runs round a fourth part of the
circumference.

ZIMBABWE.

Practically the same.

Two rows of chevron pattern
run round a fourth part of the circumfer-



CONICAL TOWER, STONE PULPIT-PLATFORM, AND CIRCULAR CEMENT PLATFORM
WITH MONOLITHS.

(After the excavations by the author, 1901.)

THE TEMPLE, ZIMBABWE.

TOWER AND EMBLEMS ASSOCIATED

It is impossible to dissociate the Tower and its allied phallic emblems from the oldest rock mines on this area, from which many millions of gold sterling have not only been extracted but exported to Asia. The Zimbabwe Temple and its emblems are but the resultant phase of the rock-mining operations which must have been in progress for an indefinite period before the first foundations of the Zimbabwe Temple were laid.

Nor can one conceive such a proposition that the enumerated phenomena had an independent and local origin when we consider the Semitic impressions of decidedly pre-Koranic character on the local natives, the Ma-Karanga, who were never a seaboard people, and the activities of ancient Asiatic countries everywhere on the coasts of the Indian Ocean, which are demonstrated to-day by anthropologists, ethnologists, and philologists. To set a hard-and-fast limit, as Professor Maciver has presumed to do, to these activities which extended to far more remote regions than South-east Africa, and which are testified to by ancient historian and geographer, can only be equalled by an attempt of a lamplighter to put out the stars.¹

The Conical Tower on the Byblos Coin.

The coin of Byblos (in Phœnicia) shows a conical tower enclosed by angular walls. Professor Maciver considers the fact that the Byblos tower being enclosed within angular walls, whereas the walls enclosing the conical tower at Zimbabwe are rounded, disposes of any connection or com-

MARIB (*continued*).

Half of elliptical wall, on side of inscription, is well built and well preserved, but opposite side is badly built and ruined.

M. Arnaud saw the Marib Temple, and published a plan of it with measurements (*Peterman's Milleilungen*, 1892).

Massoude's reference (915 A.D.) to the round towers set in a particular angle, associated with monoliths, in the round and unroofed temples of Arabia, has already been mentioned.

¹ See *Semitic Impressions on Ma-Karanga*, Chapter XIV.

ZIMBABWE (*continued*).

The same at Zimbabwe, where the pattern portion of the wall is exceptionally well built.

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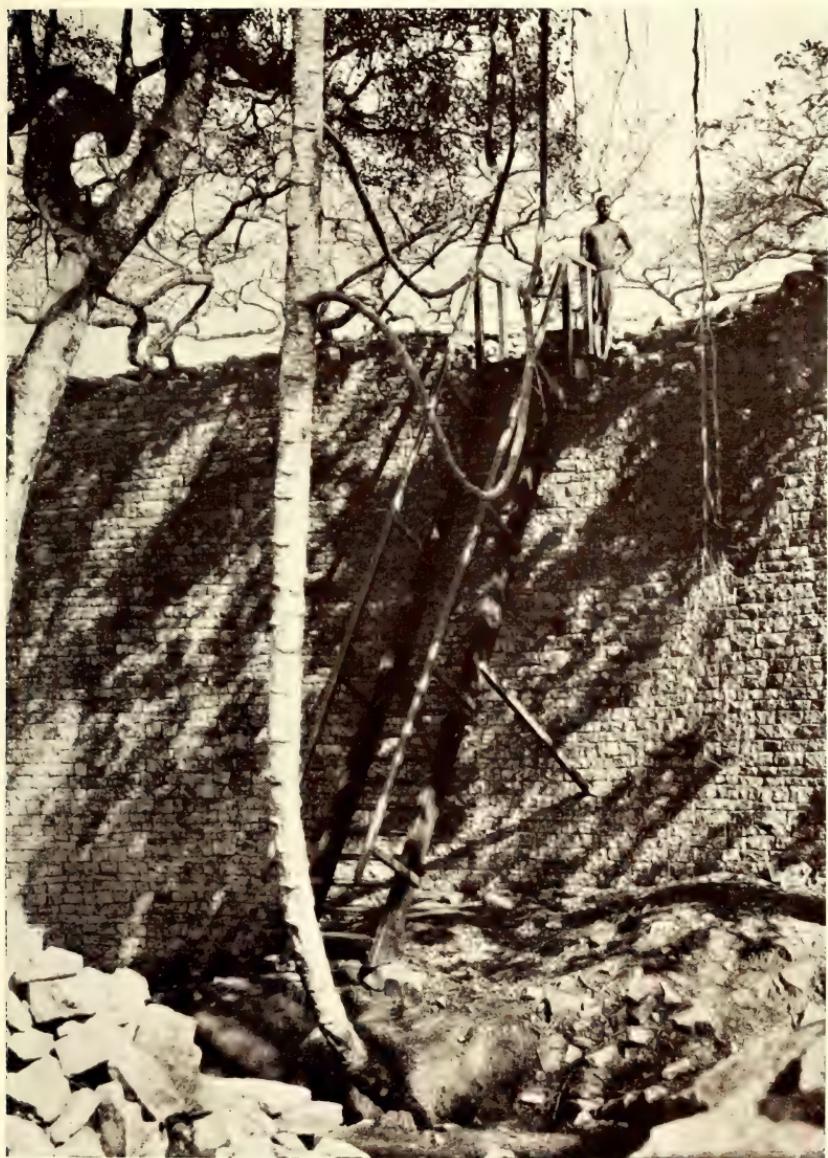
mon origin of these structures. But I have been advised on most excellent authority that such an attempt to dissociate these otherwise identical structures cannot stand a moment's consideration. The buildings of the Phoenicians and Carthaginians were undoubtedly angular, but the temples of Arabia, and even more east, were elliptical or rounded. Massoude, who, in 915 A.D., described the long-established and permanent trade in gold and ivory between Sofala (of which the gold mines' area is the immediate hinterland) and Arabia, India, and China, speaks of the *round and unroofed temples; the towers, eight cubits high, set in a particular angle of the temples, and the monoliths in Arabia.* The form of the enclosing walls, whether angular or rounded, probably but defines the originating source, and, in the case of Zimbabwe, points to an intrusion of Arabian and not Phoenician influence.¹

In passing, it is to be noticed that the wall enclosing the cone on the Byblos coin shows double chevron pattern, double rows of chevron pattern being the great decorative feature on the enclosing wall at Zimbabwe. One is therefore inclined to ask whether unaided Bantu, without the slightest outside suggestion, also accidentally stumbled on this association of chevron pattern and cone-enclosing wall!

Introduction of Phallus Worship.

It must be recollected that the phalli, the "cup or ring" linga, several of the carved stone birds, and the astragali-shaped ingot mould, were all found in the lowest parts of the enclosure in which stands the large conical Tower. The Tower has always been claimed as a huge phallus, and to-day this claim is reaffirmed by the highest scientific experts in Europe. With the unmistakable character of the relics found in such close association with the Tower, it is impos-

¹ Professor Müller, quoted by Bent, states that the elliptically formed wall appears to have been always used in the temple buildings of ancient Arabia, and states that at Sirwah and Marib the Temples are built on an oval plan. As already shown, Massoude (915 A.D.) states the temples of Arabia were round. This is also shown by M. Arnaud's plan of the Marib Temple.



INTERIOR FACE OF EASTERN MAIN WALL.

(The Conical Tower stands in this enclosure.)

THE TEMPLE, ZIMBABWE.

PATTERNS ON TOWER AND PHALLI

sible to dissociate Tower and phalli, and so claim that the structure is but an unintentional "freak" caused by the exigencies of building, or that it was but a symbol of "the favourite wife of a Kafir chief."

Without in any way dogmatising as to the particular form of nature-worship once practised at Zimbabwe, it may be noticed that among the great number of authenticated phalli found at Zimbabwe are some of realistic shape, which in conventional form and decoration are identical, as Mr. Bent has shown, with phalli now in European museums. Some of the Zimbabwe phalli have the double-ring circumcisional markings worked round them in dentelle, chevron, or plain circles, which antiquarian experts claim as the trade-mark and seal of their undoubted character.

But on the conical Tower, and in exactly the same relative position as the double rings on the phalli, was a double row of dentelle pattern, *a portion of which pattern still remains*, the rest having been destroyed by Mauch, who said that in his time (1871) this pattern ran round the eastern portion of the circumference near its present reduced summit, that is, in exactly the same relative position as the double row of chevron pattern on the face of the enclosing main wall. This, the writer is advised, constitutes a still further link in the chain of evidence of an Asiatic influence having been introduced into South-east Africa in remote times.

Form and Position of Tower deliberately planned.

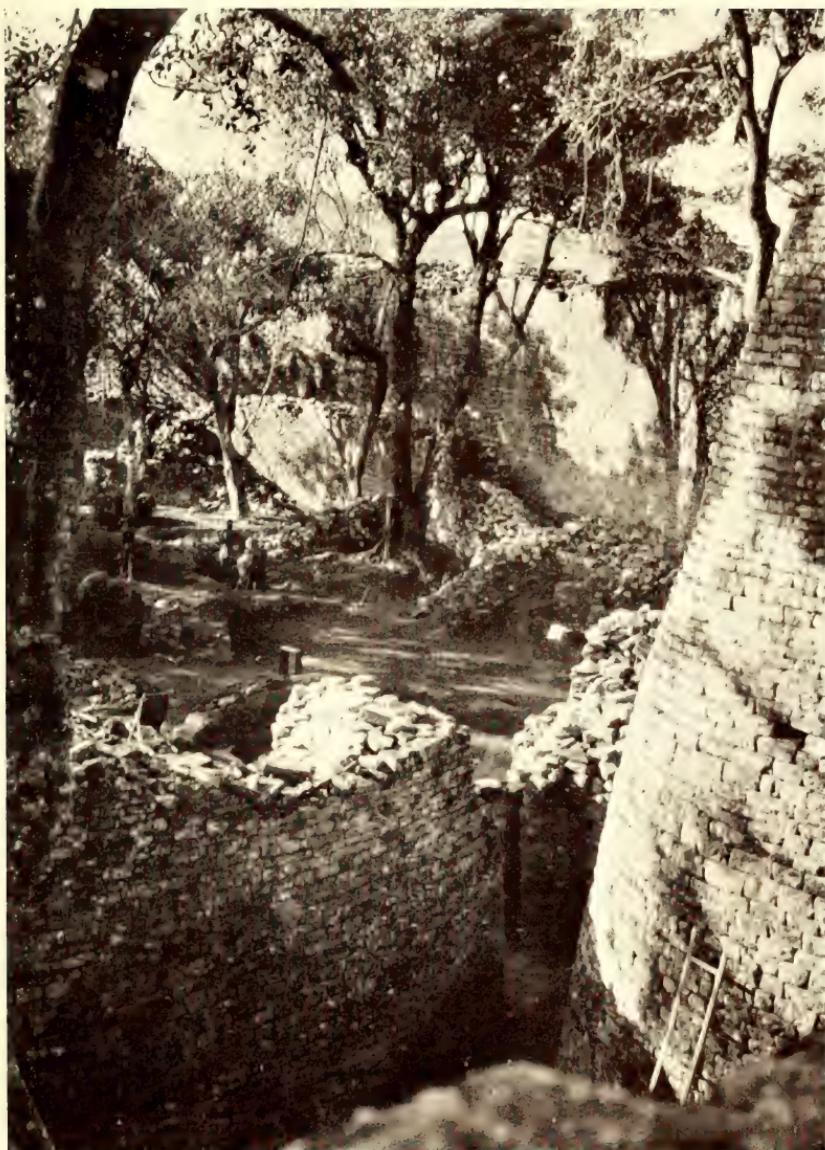
There are, however, further ample evidences, apart from the associated emblems, and apart from the archæological data already cited, that the manifest intention was to erect a structure of conical form. This is demonstrated by the rows of courses of blocks in the lowest portions of the structure, that the shape of the Tower was not merely "accidental," or "fortuitous," a "freak" of Kafir builders, the result of "exigencies of building." The boldness of its design, the patient, careful, and laborious workmanship in its construction, all negative such a suggestion.

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The Zimbabwe Tower stands at the eastern end of the building within walls—the original walls of the Temple, which enclosing walls are covered with mural decorations, the other walls of the Temple having no decoration whatever. That the eastern portion of the Temple possessed some special significance in the minds of the builders of the Tower is obvious. This is the only portion of the Temple where mural decoration was introduced, and the only portion which has yielded relics of a phallic character, and it is manifestly by far the best-constructed portion of the Temple, and upon which the greatest care, labour, skill, and decorative art were bestowed. The precincts of the Tower were deliberately planned for the purpose of ritual, in which the great Tower constituted the central and main feature.

The conical Tower at Byblos stood within a sub-enclosure of the Temple. This is also the case at Zimbabwe. Numerous archæological works show that the Indian phalli were always similarly enclosed. The approaches to the enclosure which contained the Zimbabwe Tower are defended as is no other portion of the Temple. The high and massive walls of this enclosure, the repetition of difficult entrance ways and protecting buttresses, the narrow passage, all these defensive features were obviously most deliberately planned from the actual laying of the first foundation-stones at Zimbabwe. These point to the most deliberate intention to safeguard this special enclosure. These were no "freak" structures, for the elaborate drainage system passes *through* the base and not *under* their walls, the drainage of the Temple having been planned before the very first foundation-stones were laid.

The Parallel Passage, one of the chief architectural features at Zimbabwe, leads from the main or north entrance to the Tower enclosure only. Throughout its length, 220 ft. (67 M.), this passage has no communication whatever with the interior of the Temple save the Tower enclosure, and where it emerges into this enclosure is a strongly guarded entrance. This narrow passage served to enable those who were concerned in the ceremonial to pass from the exterior



STONE PULPIT-PLATFORM.

TOWER.

WEST SIDE OF CONICAL TOWER, WITH PULPIT-PLATFORM IN FRONT.

THE TEMPLE, ZIMBABWE,

PLAN DELIBERATELY DESIGNED

of the Temple into the Tower enclosure unnoticed, and it is this passage, next to the Tower enclosure, which has yielded such an extraordinary wealth of phallic emblems and gold articles. All these features strongly bespeak a set determination on the part of the original builders to protect the Tower enclosure from intrusion, and suggest that its position was deliberately chosen and preconceived.

But at the same time as the foundation-stones of the Tower were laid, the foundations of the Platform were also laid. The Platform is a high, huge, massive, and well-built structure which stands on the west side of the Tower, that is, immediately in front of the Tower. A space of only 4 ft. (1.219 M.) separates it from the Tower, and this would have left ample room for the rite of circumambulation to have been performed—a rite common in the phallus worship of Western India. From the summit of this Platform, which is 12 ft. (3.657 M.) in height, and which was approached by a flight of steps, there is a commanding view over the whole of the interior of the Temple.

This platform Professor Maciver calls “a throne for the king,” or “pulpit where a priest or king officiated” (*M. R.* 74). That it was a dais from whence an audience might have been addressed is highly probable. But this “throne” was introduced by the people who introduced the form of the great conical Tower, and, like the Tower, has no prototype in “Kafir kraals” which could have led up to the platform in the Temple. The difficulty in proving the “natural evolution” in “thrones” would be the inability to find the rudimentary “throne” in any “Kafir kraal,” or even any ruin, which could be satisfactorily proved to be older than the Zimbabwe Temple.

Immediately in front of both Tower and Platform is a large area which has never been built upon, but was evidently reserved for those attending the ceremonies, the platform forming an ideal pulpit, similar to the *agora* or platform-pulpits of ancient temples in the Near East, to which, as Mr. Bent has shown, references are so frequently made in classic history, and which are described in archæological works relating to Eastern Asia. On this area, and

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buried on its lowest floor, were found (1902-3) ornate phalli, carved stone beams with rosettes, sun-disc, lotus, continuous ring, and fluted patterns, all of which are designs absolutely unknown among any Bantu people south of the Great Lakes.

Mr. Franklin White, in his notes on the survey of the Temple (*Journal Anthropological Institute*, London, Vol. XXV, 1905, states, "The area occupied by the Temple, the solidity of construction, the particular form and arrangement of some portions, and the different objects which have been found, apparently indicate that the elliptical ruin at all events was built for a special purpose, and on a definite, although somewhat crude plan."

No Prototype Towers in South Africa.

Had the tower been resultant of "the natural evolution of building" on the part of the altogether unaided negroid, we must have expected to discover elsewhere in Rhodesia towers of a rudimentary character, from which the colossal and symmetrical tower at Zimbabwe was ultimately evolved. But no ruin in Rhodesia (which can possibly be shown to be older than the Zimbabwe Temple) provides such a rudimentary tower. The Inyanga, Umtali, and N'Natali ruins are all of a much later period than the Zimbabwe Temple. When the prototype of the Zimbabwe Tower shall have been discovered in Rhodesia, which will be an altogether hopeless quest, we might then possibly follow Professor Maciver's line of argument for the "characteristically African" origin of the tower, which rests solely, as can be seen in *Medieval Rhodesia*, on the doubtful basis of entirely unsupported assertion. However, the absence of such rudimentary towers gives a decided deathblow to the "natural evolution" theory.

The Tower and the Orientation of the Temple.

The presence of the conical Tower, and its location, suggest a possibility of the Temple plan being connected with orientation.

In 1902, on clearing the débris from the base of the



EASTERN SUMMIT OF CONICAL TOWER.
(Showing remains of Dentelle Pattern.)

To face p. 344.]

RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE OF TOWERS

conical Tower, I discovered on measuring the structure that Mr. Swan's theory of cubits must be incorrect. I thereupon invited Mr. E. P. Mennell, of Bulawayo, to visit me, and together we found that Mr. Swan's particular theory concerning the orientation of the Temple could not be substantiated by his measurements. But because Mr. Swan's theory fails, it is no reason for holding that the Temple was not orientated.

The position of the Tower, its decoration facing east, the precise work in the chevron pattern on the main wall, which also faces east, the ornamentation of the summit of the east wall, with small conical towers and almost fifty monoliths, the eastward position of the stone birds, the presence of phalli, and the existence of the twelve phenomena mentioned earlier in this chapter as being paralleled in Arabia and India, may possibly point to some method, even though crude, of fixing times, seasons, and feasts. At present, this is an entirely open question ; still, Mr. Swan's special theory being untenable is no argument that there was not some design in fixing these features.

It will be noticed that Mr. Bent was not responsible for the theory elaborated by Mr. Swan, and in his book his references to that theory did not bind him to its acceptance.

The Religious Significance of the Conical Towers of Western Asia.

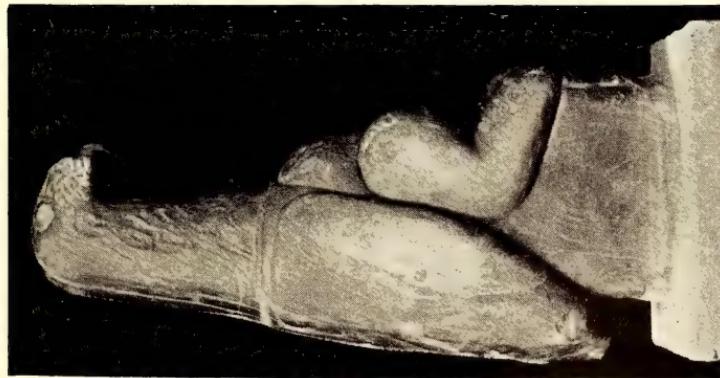
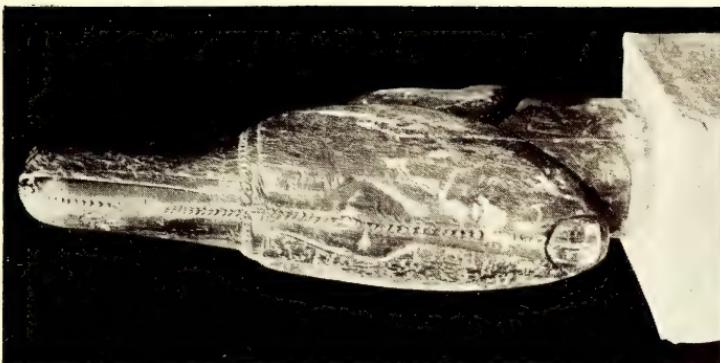
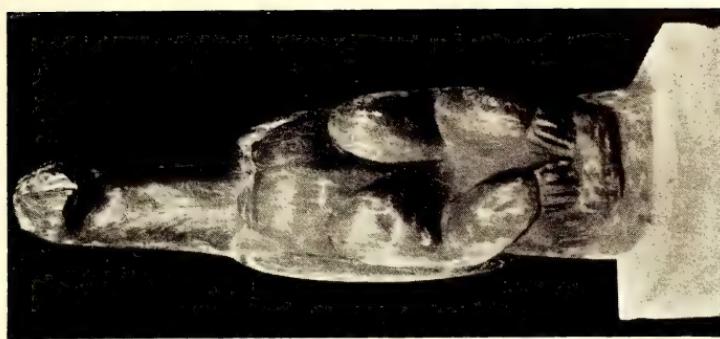
In *The Ruined Cities of Mashonaland*, Mr. Theodore Bent states—

“ The religious purport of these towers would seem to be conclusively proved by the numerous finds we made in other parts of the ruins of a phallic character, and I think a quotation from Montfaucon's *L'Antiquité Expliquée* will give us the key-note of the worship : ‘ The ancients assure us that all the Arabians worshipped a tower, which they called, El Acara, or Alquetila, which was built by their patriarch Ismael.’ ‘ Maximus of Tyre says, they honoured as a great god a great cut-stone. This is apparently the same stone, resembling Venus, according to Euthymius

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Zygabenus. When the Saracens were converted to Christianity, they were obliged to anathematise this stone, which formerly they worshipped.' This tower (at Zimbabwe) doubtless corresponded to the sacred tower of the Midianites, called Penuel, or the 'Face of God,' which Gideon destroyed (Judges vii. 7). Allusions to these towers are constant in the Bible, and the Arabian historian, El Masudi, (940 A.D.), further tells us that this stone or *Tower was eight cubits high, and was placed in an angle of the Temple, which had no roof.* Turning to Phoenician temple construction, we have a good parallel to the ruins of Great Zimbabwe, at Byblos (in Phoenicia), as depicted on the coins ; the tower, or sacred cone, is set up within the temple precincts, and shut off in an enclosure. Similar work is also found in the round temples of the Cabiri, at Hadjar Kem, in Malta, and the construction of these buildings bears a remarkable resemblance to that of those at Zimbabwe, and the round towers, or naraghs, found in Sardinia, may possibly be of some similar significance. MM. Perrot and Chapiez, in their *History of Art in Sardinia*, speak of these naraghs as forts or temples, around which the primitive inhabitants of the island once lived. They are truncated cones, built with stone blocks of different sizes, narrowing at the top. The stones are unhewn as a rule, and laid on without mortar. Here, too, we have a parallel for our monoliths, mention of unhewn stone, and also for the phalli, specimens of which are to be found carved on stone, and here, too, the intricate plan of the fortresses suggests at once a parallel to those at Zimbabwe ; hence it would appear that the same influence was at work in Sardinia as in South Africa. In Lucian's *De Syria Dea* we find a description of a temple at Hierapolis, in Mesopotamia, in the propylaea of which, he tells, (p. 16), 'there stood two very large phalli, about thirty cubits high.' Our tower at Zimbabwe stood apparently twenty cubits high, and ten in diameter. He further says 'these phalli are solid.'"

The Hon. A. Wilmot, in his *Monomotapa (Rhodesia)*, refers to Herodian's description of the sacred cone in the great Phoenician Temple of the Sun, at Emesa in Syria, and



CARVED STONE BIRDS DECORATED WITH CHEVRON, ROSETTES, AND SUN-DISCS.
ZIMBABWE.

CARVED BIRDS ON STYLAE

also cites a large number of ancient and modern authorities on these towers and their associated emblems and decorative patterns, which so closely parallel those found in the Zimbabwe Temple.

The Soapstone Birds.

As stated in *Great Zimbabwe*, ten stone birds have been discovered at these ruins, six being found buried, the other four being in 1888 in the possession of the Mogabe Chipfuno, the then local chief. Professor Maciver errs in stating they were found in the Western Temple on the Hill. The four birds were found in the Eastern Temple on the Hill. They had previously been in the possession of the Amangwa, who state they found them in the Eastern Temple.

All the birds once faced east. On p. 240 it was stated that it could be noticed at once on seeing any tree which was the direction of the prevailing winds and rains. On finding a fallen monolith, whether of granite, slate, or soapstone, it can at once be seen which way it originally faced, the weather side being considerably worn, and the protected side in good condition.

The same applies to all the ten soapstone birds on beams. It is strange that all their beaks, breasts, claws, and rosette-shaped eyes are all worn and almost obliterated, while the markings on their backs are still perfect. These birds once stood in a vertical position on the summits of walls exposed to the east and south-east. The winds of centuries have carried the veld dust against their faces, the carvings on which have been gradually worn off and not otherwise damaged. The wind-worn obliterations on their faces only show very clearly the direction they originally faced, that is, the same direction as that of the chevron pattern at the Elliptical Temple, of the dentelle pattern on the Conical Tower, and the dentelle pattern at the Eastern Temple, *i.e.* east and south-east. What might have been the special significance of such a position cannot be stated, but the coincidence is strange.

Professor Maciver claims that these birds on pedestals

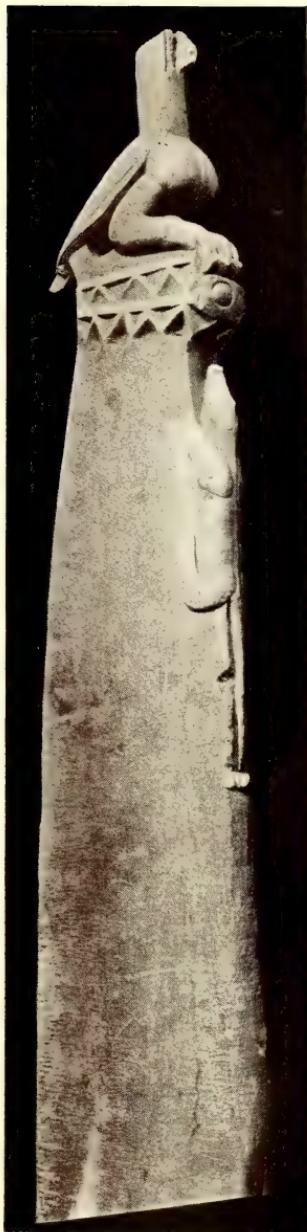
PRE-HISTORIC RHODESIA

were merely "Kafir Totems," and in a most casual manner remarks (*M.R.* 78), "*I have quite recently learned that a tribe in the Belingwe district actually has an eagle as its sacred animal!*" The existence of any tribe with the eagle for its totem is quite possible, for there is not a single specimen in natural history pertaining to South Africa which has not been appropriated for totem by some native race, tribe, sub-tribe, family, or caste. It must be recollected that the totem of the largest and by far the most important section of the Ma-Karanga was the *Mondoro* (lion). This is stated in the records and is the case to-day (VII, 208). But Professor Maciver's proofless assertion is no final solution as to the origin and purpose of these birds. But can he find a single tribe in South Africa which has ever been known to carve its totem, whether in wood or stone? Had this been the case we must have heard of such a practice from the Arabs, Persians and Portuguese. It is distinctly stated that the Ma-Karanga never carved idols or images. On this point all Bantu authorities are strongly opposed to his assertion. Dugmore, writing of Bantu generally, says, "The Kafirs have no visible symbol by which they represent the imaginary beings whom they dread." All standard works contain statements to the same effect.

It must not be forgotten that these birds were found in association with numberless phalli, with the "cup or ring" linga, the *astragali* ingot mould, and a great profusion of gold ornaments.

Mr. Van Oordt has one explanation to make: "The birds of the Rhodesian ruins I consider to be a form of Garuda, the bird of the Indian god Vishnu, the latter god being essentially the god of the Indian seafaring people. This bird is probably the same as the Horus bird of Egypt, its position on the soapstone beams being apparently a very old form."

Mr. Bent quotes authorities showing these birds to have their prototypes in Arabia and Egypt, while M. Naville and other best-known scientists claim them as representing Almaqah—the Venus morning star of the old Sabæans.



STONE BIRD, WITH CHEVRON AND SUN-DISC PATTERN AND CARVED CROCODILE.

(Found by the author buried several feet below blocks fallen from wall and débris of subsequent squatters.)

ROSETTE-DECORATED CYLINDER

Mr. Bent cites his authorities in *The Ruined Cities of Mashonaland*, and these are open to all.

The Soapstone Cylinder.

This cylinder, which was discovered in 1889 in the Temple of Zimbabwe, is not a "bowl," as styled by Professor Maciver. It is of quern shape, with rings of rosettes on the top and sides. Passing right through in the centre of the cylinder is a large circular hole, very neatly cut, and evidently made through the stone before it was decorated with rosettes. This cylinder is very similar to one, also ornamented with rosettes, which was found at the Temple of Paphos, in Cyprus. The cylinder from Zimbabwe has always been considered to be the linga, or female emblem of fertility. Many leading antiquarians have so described it. It was found in close association with the great conical tower and platform, and with carved birds and scores of phalli, two being decorated on the top with lotus pattern, and with others decorated on their front with the female breast pattern. The lotus pattern is most certainly not a Kafir or Bantu, or "usual African pattern."

Mr. D. Christeson, Vice-President of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, writes me: "Is not the cup and ring marking on the top the lingam of the Hindus, and, therefore, an indication of Hindu influence at Zimbabwe? It is remarkable that in Scotland the instances of cup and ring markings like this, upon rocks, are almost innumerable, and, of course, their occurrence in other parts of Europe, and even, it is said, in America, is well known. This at Zimbabwe is the first example that has been brought to my notice in Africa."

Mr. Van Oordt considers "the conical towers and the scores of phalli found at Zimbabwe to be true linga (the male emblem of fertility), and the soapstone cylinder to be the Yoni, or 'ring' or 'cup' or linga (the female emblem of fertility)." These he traces to Western India. He says: "The lotus pattern carved on the top of the phalli, and the female breast pattern on some of the phalli found by

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Bent and Hall at Zimbabwe, in particular being traced to Western India."

Soapstone Bowls.

Professor Maciver's assertion that all the relics so far discovered in Rhodesia are "not more than a few centuries old" appears to be somewhat hasty, for if these are all of Kafir work of so modern a period, how is it that the conservative-minded "Kafir" has not "translated" into pottery or wood the principles upon which the soapstone bowls, the cylinder (linga), the phalli, and the birds on beams were made? If the Kafir "translated" into the plans of the massive ruins the principles on which he built his wattle-and-daub, clay, or stone hut, as Professor Maciver claims, and this without the slightest basis in fact, why did not the "Kafir" also translate into pottery or wood the form and decoration of the soapstone bowls, found on the lowest floors of Zimbabwe? This is but Professor Maciver's own argument turned against his own theory. The Ma-Karanga were in Rhodesia before or about 1200 A.D., if not earlier. Professor Maciver states that the ruins were built after this date. The Ma-karanga are still here to-day, and there has been continuity of their occupation since their arrival. Then, why, on Professor Maciver's own showing, has there never been found among the Ma-Karanga any pottery or wooden bowl of the shape, massive size, and style of decoration in the slightest degree approaching to the form or pattern of the soapstone bowls of the builders and first occupiers of the Zimbabwe ruins? Authorities on the Bantu unanimously declare that the bowls so beautifully and artistically cut from the stone with metal tools, and carved with animals, birds, men, and foliage, and also with patterns of distinctly Assyrian character, were never made by any Bantu people.

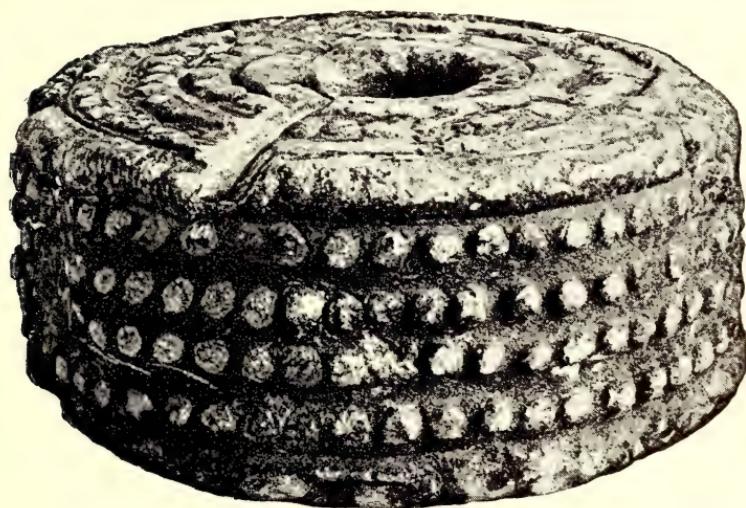
Gold Ornaments.

See *The Ancient Ruins of Rhodesia* (Hall and Neal).

Gold mostly found in first-period ruins, pp. 89, 91; goldsmiths, pp. 89-96; amount discovered, p. 91; esti-



CYLINDER WITH ROSETTES FOUND IN PHENICIAN TEMPLE
OF PAPHOS, IN CYPRUS.



CYLINDER WITH ROSETTES FOUND AT ZIMBABWE.
The hole was cut completely through the stone before the rosettes were carved.

To face p. 350.]

NO INSCRIPTIONS

mated value, p. 91; gold relics lost, p. 92; gold wire, p. 93; gold bangles, p. 93; beaten gold, p. 95; gold tacks, pp. 95, 313; gold ferrules, pp. 95, 313; gold plating, pp. 76, 313; goldsmiths' tools, p. 96; waste of gold, pp. 88, 106; gold found with remains, p. 106; lists of ancient gold ornaments, Chapter XI.

See *Great Zimbabwe* (R. N. Hall).

Gold crucibles, pp. 112, 113; gold beads, p. 113; beaten gold, p. 113; gold tacks, p. 113; gold bangles, p. 114; gold scorifiers, p. 114.

No Inscriptions.

No inscriptions have been found in the Temple, but I am advised by several eminent scientific experts that there are very well-known instances of authenticated movements of ancient and pre-historic peoples for which no evidence by inscriptions has ever been obtained or is ever likely to be obtained. Had the Asiatic influences displayed at Zimbabwe arrived through an African medium or through a mingled medium of Arab and negroid, inscriptions might not be expected to be found there. Dr. Theal is convinced by the results of his researches in European archives for documents relative to the early gold trade of the Sofala country that Arab archives will yield important information as to the connection of Arabians and other Asiatics with Rhodesia in very remote times, even earlier than 915 A.D., when Massoude wrote.

"African Patterns."

Professor Maciver states that the patterns found at the ruins were "characteristically African." Evidently he means that the mural patterns on the ruins and on the articles found in Rhodesia were not imported or borrowed, and that, therefore, they do not suggest any foreign connection. This is putting Effect before Cause, and does not settle the question of foreign connection. The "characteristically African patterns" do not, as antiquarian researches have already shown, pertain to the African continent alone, for these identical geometric patterns are

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found in general employment also among the early peoples of other countries ; for instance, in Thibet, Beluchistan, India (west and south), Egypt, Arabia, in Mediterranean coasts and islands, including Cyprus and Sardinia, and among the North American Indians, in Mexico, Peru and Polynesia. They appear to have been the almost universal designs of the aboriginal decorators in all parts of the world. Bantu authorities state, " There are no patterns of Bantu origin, all being borrowed from, and found in other countries."¹

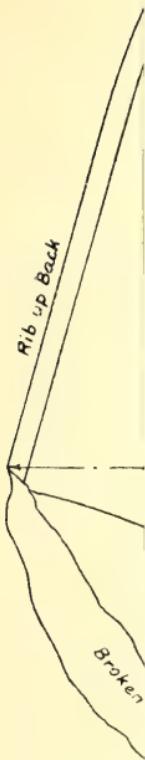
On all the ruins which do not belong to the oldest type of Zimbabwe construction, the mural patterns are simply imitative and are of the crudest workmanship ; the walls facing all points of the compass being decorated mainly with chess-board pattern and herring-bone. Chess-board pattern is never found in the older structures such as the Temple. It was evidently only used at a very late period. Only one example of herring-bone is found at Zimbabwe, and that in an obviously late structure.

At the older ruins chevron and dentelle are employed, and in these buildings they were placed to face either east (mainly east) or west, and never to the north or south. This points to some design the purpose of which the much later builders appear not to have recognised.

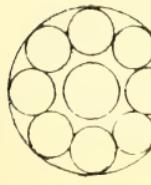
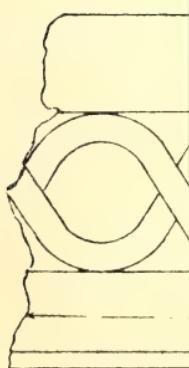
Was South-east Africa within the ken of the Ancients?

In order to support his contention that there was no intrusion of Asiatic influence in ancient times on the natives of the auriferous region of Sofala, Professor Maciver claims that "*there is little documentary evidence, and there is no archaeological evidence extant to prove that the civilised world had any considerable knowledge of, or intercourse with, East Africa prior to the time of Mohammed*

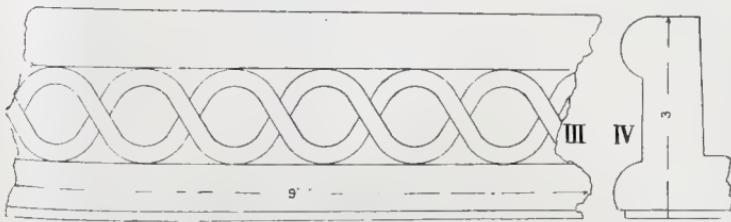
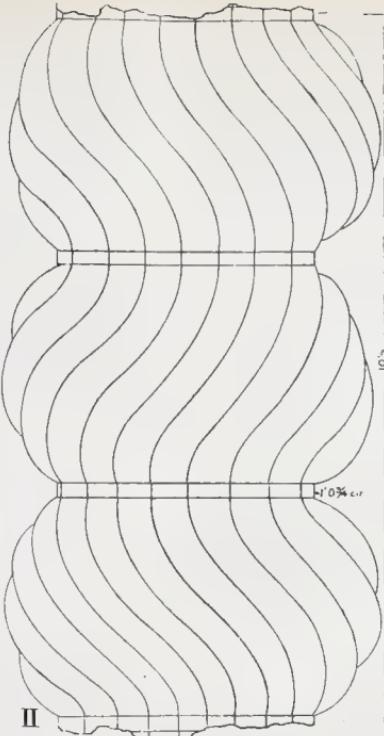
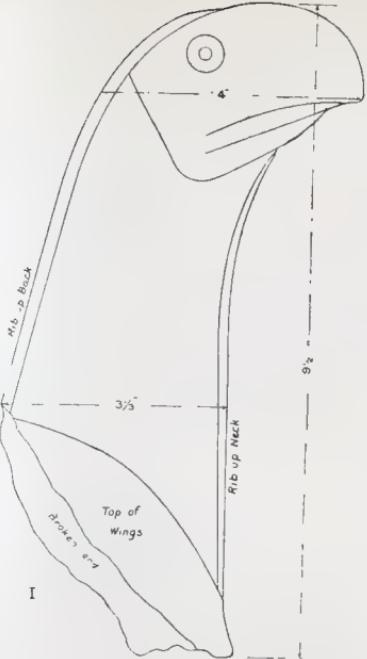
¹ Chevron and herring-bone patterns are to be found in Europe, Asia, or Northern Africa wherever the dolmen-makers erected their structures (Fergusson's *Rude Stone Monuments*). Chevron and herring-bone patterns are also to be found in India in connection with ancient shrines (Dr. S. Lefmann's *Geschichte des alten Indiens*). Mural decorations of herring-bone are at Shibahm in Hadhramout (Bent's *Southern Arabia*, p. 142).



I



V



RELICS FOUND ON LOWEST FLOORS OF ZIMBABWE.

- I. Head of Soapstone Bird.
- II. Portion of Fluted Spiral Monoliths.
- III, IV. Carved Rim of Soapstone Bowls.
- V. Pattern (in knobs) carved on Phalli.

For drawings of Phalli see Plate I in *Great Zimbabwe*.

To face p. 152.



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[610 A.D.]. *That in the days of the Roman Empire the Mozambique and the Zambesi were beyond the ken of geographers seems apparent both from Ptolemy and from the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea.*" (R. G. S. J., Vol. XXVII, pp. 335-6.)

Dr. Keane, however, shows (*ibid.* p. 338) that such a claim as is advanced by Professor Maciver is both "paradoxical" and "hazardous." In this contention Dr. Keane has considerable support from qualified authorities on ancient geography, and we may safely leave its discussion in their hands. But to enable the general reader to follow the argument the following points may be briefly stated—

(1) JOINT JEWISH AND PHœNICIAN EXPEDITIONS FOR GOLD AND IVORY.—During the reign of King Solomon these expeditions sailed south from Erzion-Geber, the joint Jewish and Phœnician port on the Red Sea. These voyages are recorded in the Kings and Chronicles, also in secular history, and have been discussed by Rawlinson, Kenrick, Professor Sayce, and numerous other authorities on the subject.

(2) CIRCUMNAVIGATION OF AFRICA BY THE PHœNICIANS.—Herodotus (IV, 42) records the expedition equipped by King Necho, about 610 B.C., and conducted by Phœnicians, which sailed from the Red Sea round Africa in three years, and came back by the Pillars of Hercules (Gibraltar) to Egypt, adding "as they sailed round Africa they had the sun on their right hand." Herodotus states that Africa was thus proved to be circumnavigable, all except the Isthmus of Suez, and further adds that Necho proved this for the first time.

Herodotus, writing of the remotest parts of East Africa, mentions (Third Book, N. 114) its abundant gold, large elephants' ivory, and its remarkably tall, fine, and long-lived inhabitants (quoted by Torrend, XXXIV).

(3) TAPROBANE, an island off the East African coast referred to by Aristotle, 384 B.C., has been identified by Malte Brun, the French geographer, with Madagascar, which, he says, "was named Phanbalon by the Arabs" (quoted in *Monomotapa*, p. 96).

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(4) MENUTHIAS, an island off the East African coast referred to in the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, 80 A.D., is identified by Dr. Keane as Madagascar (*Gold of Ophir, whence Brought and by Whom?* pp. 127-9); also by J. L. Last (*Languages Spoken in Madagascar*, Journal Anthropol. Inst., Vol. XXXV, p. 47); also by Dr. Keller (*Madagascar*, p. 3), and by other authorities on the ancient geography of East Africa.

(5) RHAPTA, a trade emporium of the ancient Arabians, on the East African coast, is also mentioned in the *Periplus*, and was believed by Dean Vincent to have been 10° south of the equator, that is to say, near Kilwa, which almost one thousand years later was the trade emporium of the Persians who trafficked from that centre with the Zambezi and Sofala districts for gold and ivory.

Dr. Scott Keltie (*Partition of Africa*, p. 22) places Rhapta "somewhere near Zanzibar," and states "there were many towns and trading centres at least as far south as the latitude of Zanzibar, if not further . . . in all probability inhabited not by aboriginal Africans, but by Arab and Indian settlers from the opposite coasts of Asia" (*ibid.* p. 18). This, of course, relates to two thousand years ago.

The author of the *Periplus* mentions that this Arab settlement at Rhapta was subject to the sovereign Maphartes, a dependency of Saba or Yemen in South Arabia, and also that the Sabæan King Kharabit was in the possession of the east coast of Africa to an indefinite extent.

Herr Glaser, the Arabian traveller and decipherer of Himyaritic inscriptions, states, "So much is absolutely certain, that Himyar (Arabia) then possessed almost the whole of East Africa. Such a possession, however, was not won in a night, but rather presupposes, in those old times, centuries of exertion" (quoted by Bent, *Ruined Cities of Mashonaland*, p. 230).

Father Torrend, in his *Comparative Grammar of the South African Bantu Languages*, remarks, "The author of the *Periplus* states that in his time, 85 A.D., the coast of

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Mombasa was part of the possession of the Kings of the Sabæans [of South Arabia], and this through some "ancient right," who used "to send thither transport ships with Arab pilots and sailors, *who knew the places and the language of the natives well.*" Father Torrend remarks, "When did such relations between the Sabæans and South-east Africa commence? The author of the *Periplus* only says, '*from ancient times*'" (XL). He concludes that there must have been "intimate relations between them [the Sabæans] and the Bantu" (XLII).

Dr. Scott Keltie (*Partition of Africa*, p. 10), states: "There were gold mines accessible from the Nile Valley, but no Old-world country known and accessible to these ancient nations [Sabæans and Phoenicians referred to], not Arabia, not India, not any Mediterranean country, can be compared with the Zambesi region for its gold productiveness.

"Let it be remembered that the Arabians themselves were great traders and navigators; that the Phoenicians were in constant communication with them; that they must have known the coast of Africa, which was quite within hail of their country; that there is every reason to believe they had settlements there from a remote period, and in all probability were familiar with the East African coast far to the south.

"Indeed, the Arabians seem to have jealously guarded the east coast of Africa, the Phœnicians acting as intermediaries between them and Egypt, and the other countries on the Mediterranean. That the gold supplies obtained by the Phœnicians, through the Arabs, in such lavish abundance, may have been brought from the rich mines of South-east Africa is not at all improbable."

(6) PRASUM is mentioned by the author of the *Periplus* as a promontory on the East African coast where "an ocean curves towards the sunset . . . and amalgamates with the western sea [Atlantic Ocean]." Dr. Keltie conjecturally places Prasum in 15° south latitude, which is about the same latitude as the most northerly bend of the Zambesi River. Other authorities do likewise.

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(7) COMOROS ISLANDS.—The *Periplus* contains a reference to an island opposite the East African coast occupied by "Fire-men," this place being associated in the *Periplus* with Rhapta, Prasum, and Menuthias. "Fire-men," states Dr. Keane, "is a most appropriate epithet for the inhabitants of these Comoros Islands, where active volcanoes still exist almost in sight of Rhodesia. Therefore, there was no conceivable trouble for the Arabians and Phoenicians, who had fleets on the Indian Ocean, to reach these regions [Rhodesia] in search of gold" (*R. G. S. J.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 338). The volcano of the Grand Comoro Island was still active in 1865 (*Livingstone's Last Journals*, p. 104).

(8) MONSOONS.—Hippalus (47 A.D.) has the credit of introducing the monsoons of the Indian Ocean to the notice of Western civilisation, but Mr. Bent shows (p. 224) that the ancient Arabians must have had knowledge of the monsoons very long before the time of Hippalus, seeing that they had previously been navigating the Indian Ocean from time immemorial. The east and west monsoons are known and utilised as the "Trade Winds" of the Indian Ocean, and greatly facilitate the communication between Arabia, India, and South-east Africa. Many authorities, including modern navigators, show that it would have been an impossibility, owing to the monsoons, for the ancient Arabian navigators not to have been acquainted with the western shores of the Indian Ocean.

Father Torrend remarks, "The regularity of the monsoons make the passage from one country [Arabia] to the other [South-east Africa] so easy that it would be a marvel if the eastern traders had waited until the tenth century of the Christian era to discover, with or without intention of doing so, this natural link between these two parts of the world" (XLIV).

(9) AGIZYMBAA, a country in South Central Africa mentioned by Ptolemy (150 A.D.) as having been penetrated to by a Roman expedition. It was inland south of the equator. Dr. Keltie places it, conjecturally, in latitude 15° south, and considers that Ptolemy's vague information possessed some "basis of actuality."

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Father Torrend remarks, "The large country called Agisumba, or Agi-symba, by Ptolemy, the existence of which was known to this geographer as far as the sixteenth parallel of south latitude [the middle Zambesi River lies between latitudes 15° and 17° south] (*Geogr.* I, 8 and 10; IV, 9), is no other than the Bantu field, and refers to the following local Bantu tribes and chieftaincies: Ma-Zimba Mu-Sumba, La-Sumba, Wa-Ki-chumbi, Zimba, and he [Ptolemy] might have included Cazembe [which old and powerful Bantu kingdom several centuries ago and until to-day lay in South Central Africa between latitude 10° south and the Zambesi (15° south)], and adds, "In several eastern Bantu languages the word *zimba* means 'lion,' and is synonymous with 'king'" (XVIII). Other South African philologists also identify Ptolemy's Agi-zymba with northern Zambesia, that is, the territory south of the Great Lakes.

But Dr. Livingstone (Letter, September 1869, Grey Collection, Cape Town) states that Ptolemy's references to the position of the Central African Lakes was "*substantially correct geography.*"¹ Therefore, it is perfectly reasonable to accept Ptolemy's location of the country of Agi-symba as possessing "some basis of actuality."²

(10) M. Grandidier, in his recent monumental work, *Histoire Physique, Naturelle et Politique de Madagascar*, pp. 96, 100, quotes documents to show that the Comoros Islands, stepping-stones between Madagascar and Rhodesia, were peopled in the reign of Solomon "by Arabs, or rather by Idumean Jews from the Red Sea." Further, he says, "There is nothing surprising in the presence of an Idumean

¹ See *Ptolemy's Topography of Eastern Equatorial Africa*, by Dr. Schlichter, R. G. S. J., 1888-1892, v. 13.

² This opinion expressed by Dr. Livingstone appears to have been overlooked by most European writers on African geography. No one who has not examined the original and unpublished papers of Dr. Livingstone which are in the Grey Collection at Cape Town, and which have not yet been given to the world, can conceive the value of the information to be gained from this source. Exactly the same may be said of the mass of most valuable notes prepared by the late Dr. J. C. Bleek, the great Bantu philologist, which for some most unaccountable reason have not yet been published.

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colony in Madagascar, for we know that from the very earliest times the Arabs of Yemen had frequented the east African seaboard at least as far as Sofala." Also, "The Jews and Arabian Semites were not the only peoples who had formerly commercial relations with the inhabitants of the African seaboard. From time immemorial these southern seas were navigated by the fleets of the Egyptians, probably even of the Chaldaeans, Babylonians, Assyrians, Phoenicians, Tyrians." And again, he states, "From the earliest times the Indian Ocean was traversed by Chaldaean, Egyptian, Jewish, Arab, Persian, Indian,¹ and other vessels."

The above references, given in briefest outline, to ancient geographers, to which list Marinus of Tyre and Pliny might be added, will serve for the present to prove that on geographical evidences it is perfectly obvious that the waters of East and South-east Africa were well known to the ancients. In this survey no reference has been made to the authorities on and evidences for a contact between ancient Arabians and other Asiatics with Eastern Africa cited in the works of M. E. Reclus, Herr E. Glaser, Herr Brugsch, Professor Müller, Dr. Keane, Sir Richard Burton, Sir John Kirk, and also of German and French writers of acknowledged repute, all of whom have dealt with this subject from a strictly scientific standpoint. Nor has reference been made to the many authorities such as

¹ Captain Speke in his *Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile* (p. 13), states, "Colonel Rigby gave me a most interesting paper, with a map attached to it, about the Nile and the Mountains of the Moon. It was written by Lieut. Wilford, from the Pürans of the ancient Hindus. As it exemplifies, to a certain extent, the supposition I formerly arrived at concerning the Mountains of the Moon being associated with the Country of the Moon, I would fain draw the attention of the reader of my travels to the volume (III, of A.D. 1801) of the *Asiatic Researches*, in which it was published."

The map referred to is given in Speke's *Journal*, with Indian names of far inland topographical features of South-east Africa extending to 15° lat. S.; that is, southwards to the northern bend of the Zambesi river.

See p. 360 later, for references as to Indian navigators' knowledge of the Cape of Good Hope, prior to 1505.

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Bruce, Huet, Quatiermère, and Guillain, that the present Rhodesia was the source from which the gold of Ophir (South Arabia) was obtained. All these authorities stand, and their evidences are accessible to all.

Even with such knowledge as is already secured, the examination into the ancient activities of Arabians and other Asiatics on the coasts of the Indian Ocean is admitted to be still in its infancy. Professor A. H. Sayce expresses repeatedly in his works the moral certainty that Arab sources have yet more information concerning these ancient activities which in time will yet be revealed. Dr. G. M. Theal is equally as emphatic in expressing similar conclusions which are based on independent researches.¹ The very recent discoveries of cities at the north of the Indian Ocean which demonstrate a high state of civilisation having been attained three thousand and more years ago, when the inhabitants of Great Britain were but "naked and painted pagans living in trees," make it singularly hazardous to place, as Professor Maciver has sought to do, a limit to the knowledge and activities of ancient navigators and traders of the civilised Eastern World who are known to have extended their commercial relations to points far more remote than the East Coast of Africa.

Dr. Scott Keltie, Dr. Keane, and many other undoubted authorities, have shown very clearly that the ancient geographers of the Western World knew little or nothing either of the geography of the Indian Ocean or of the immense commercial undertakings in progress from time to time in that region. All that was known to the Western World was that the Phœnicians were the gold purveyors to the Mediterranean countries, they being the trading intermediaries between the Arabians and the Western World, the Arabians thus preserving for themselves their knowledge of the original sources of such vast wealth of the precious metal. Even the Greek geographers of 500 B.C. "had not heard of Hanno's voyage, or of the earlier one under Necho, King of Egypt" (Keltie, p. 14). Certainly,

¹ See *The Point of Intrusion of Foreign Influence in Pre-Historic Rhodesia was the Sabi River, and not the Zambesi River*, p. 216-220.

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it is to the old Arabians that the Western World owes its compass, the basis of Mercator's Sailing Tables, the origin of its astronomical knowledge, and the employment of many of the actual words and expressions used to-day in European navigation.¹ To what extent the

¹ Even in such modern times as 1497 the Portuguese mariners only used the wooden and brass astrolabe while the Arabs were using the quadrant for ascertaining their position at sea. Here the Arabs were more advanced than the Portuguese (Records, VI, 186).

The Portuguese navigator, Perestrello, stated in 1576 that "modern pilots" were not so well acquainted with the south-east coast to the Cape of Good Hope as were "the ancients [Arabs, Persians, and Indians]," who, taught by experience, were without fear of its dangers (I, 329). There are local evidences that the Arabs and Persians (eleventh century to 1505) traded as far south as the Cape of Good Hope, which was well known to the Eastern navigators long before its "discovery" by Diaz in 1486. It is believed, according to Humboldt (Vol. I, pp. 273-283, Berlin, 1832), who shows that intimate relations existed in ancient times between India and South Africa, that the Cape of Good Hope was known in Europe in 1306.

Humboldt tells us that on the planisphere of Senuto, which was made in 1306, the tricornered form of South Africa is already shown, and that on the World-chart of Fra Mauro, which was published between 1457 and 1459, the Cape of Good Hope is clearly marked with the name of *Capo di Diab*, and that there can be no mistaking this, because the names of Soffala and Xengibar are placed on that same chart to the north-east thereof.

A note to the Planisferio de la Palatina, which latter was published at Florence in 1417, and which has been carefully described by the learned Cardinal Zurla, in the second volume of his *Dissertationes*, tells us that in the year 1420 an Indian junk (*Zoncho de India*), coming from the East, circumnavigated this Cape Diab, and went many days beyond it, only returning to it after an absence of seventy days, and the crew then landing on its shore.

Humboldt remarks that undoubtedly the Indian ship made use of the Lagullas stream (Agulhas current) to sail past the Cape, and in returning used the "southern connecting current." Cardinal Zurla believed that this name of Cape Diab was derived from the Arabic *dsiab*, meaning wolves, so that the old name of the Cape would have been the Cape of the Wolves, but Humboldt himself seems inclined to connect it with the Indian *duab*, which means "two waters," just like *punjuab* means "five waters." He evidently means with this that at the Cape of Good Hope the two great waters, the Indian Ocean and the Atlantic Ocean, meet.

The influence exercised by the ancient navigators of the Indian Ocean on the navigation of the Western World is dealt with by Dr. Keane in his *Gold of Ophir*.

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knowledge of those ancient activities may be rediscovered no one can say. Arabia, in spite of sundry "penetrations," still remains the *terra incognita* of the modern archæologist, and what little is known is admittedly due to the researches of continental scholars.

But even were all geographical evidences to fail in demonstrating that the ancients possessed any knowledge of the western coasts of the Indian Ocean—and such a failure is impossible—still the South African philologist and ethnologist can point to certain phenomena, the origin of which can only be found in Asia, which no Asiatic influence so late as the Magadoxo Arab intrusion of the eleventh century of this era can possibly explain. Such phenomena strongly pre-suppose Semitic and Indian contact with the people of South-east Africa which must date back to some ancient period. These evidences are to be found in almost every standard work written on the Bantu of South Africa.

There remains, however, but one point to which attention may be drawn. So tenaciously is Arab tradition clung to, that it has often been demonstrated to be nothing less than actual history. Arab tradition has been also shown not only to confirm but to usefully amplify Biblical statement. The Moors of the East African coast, of Madagascar and Comoros, who to this day revere the memory of Abraham, David and Solomon, most emphatically assert that the Solomonic gold was brought from the hinterland of Sofala, which is the modern Rhodesia. This tradition is cherished to this day, and is alluded to in all works on East Africa. Four hundred years ago it was reported by the Portuguese authorities as being held "from ancient times" by the coast Arabs of their day. Professor Maciver derides this Arab tradition; but fifty years ago it was the habit of certain Biblical antiquarians to loftily deride and ignore an Arab tradition regarding the relationship of certain Arab tribes mentioned in Holy Writ. Within the last few years it has been satisfactorily demonstrated that the Arab tradition was perfectly correct. Thus we cannot afford to ignore the traditions of the Arabs directly connecting

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the Sofala region and the Solomonic gold obtained by their ancestors just for the mere reason that its existence may happen to be inconvenient to a favoured line of argument.

Conclusions as to the Origin and Age of the Temple.

The form of the conical tower at Zimbabwe was undoubtedly introduced from Asia, most probably from Southern Arabia, at some altogether indefinite time prior to the promulgation of the Koran (610 A.D.).

The Semitic impressions on the natives are emphatically stated by Dr. Livingstone and all Bantu ethnologists to be of a decidedly pre-Koranic character. These impressions survive to this day.

Yet such impressions on the natives as may have been resultant of the missions of the Catholic Fathers during a period of two hundred and fifty years, that is, from 1505 to 1760, have become practically obliterated.

Exactly the same applies to the Moslem connection with Rhodesia, which lasted from some altogether indefinite time prior to 915 A.D., when Massoude described the long-established gold export trade of Sofala, and 1505, a period of at least six hundred years. But impressions of the Moslem Arabs during that six hundred years on the African natives are conspicuously absent, for, as Dr. Livingstone explains (*Last Journals*, p. 278), the Zaide Arabs, the Persians, and the Magadoxo Arabs of East Africa "have never propagated the doctrines of Islam among the heathen Africans." The Semitic customs noticeable among the natives, he says, "are probably the remains of the secret arts which prevailed among the Arabs before Mahomet appeared," and "these Arabs appear to have come down the coast before that Prophet was born" (*ibid.* p. 218). But on anthropological evidences Livingstone in his works constantly insists on an Arab connection with these regions in pre-Koranic times. All ethnologists who with first-hand knowledge of the local natives have studied this question are absolutely unanimous in their agreement with Dr. Livingstone's views on this subject. Moreover, it is difficult to conceive of people holding the Moslem faith

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introducing a form of ceremonial, as evidenced at Zimbabwe by the tower and its associated emblems, to which the whole tenets of the Koran were diametrically opposed.

If, therefore, there are no surviving impressions on the natives left by the Catholic missionaries of 1505 to 1760, and no impressions of the Moslems of 915 A.D. to 1505, we are forced to the only conclusion that the Semitic relationship with these regions in pre-Koranic times, as further evidenced by the numerous Semitic customs still prevailing, must have been prolonged over many centuries of time prior to 610 A.D., to have endured in so decided a form as we find them to-day (see *Semitic Customs of the Makaranga*, Chap. XIV.).

All the evidences, whether from rock mines, buildings, arts, and ceremonial, or those adduced by the ethnologist and anthropologist, unmistakably point to one conclusion, *i.e.* that these phenomena were not resultant of any natural evolution in culture on the part of the unaided negroid, but that the culture in each form was introduced by an ingraft of a higher civilisation from without, and which was Asiatic in origin ; and that from after the period of its display in its best form, and when that outside influence was withdrawn, a period of decay set in, and the culture deteriorated in various stages until it assumed the form in culture of the negroid as seen to-day. Thus, the symbolic purpose of tower and emblem became lost, the importance of the mural decoration and its definite and specialised location at certain points on the walls ceased to be recognised, the old form of excellent building construction fell into desuetude, and the negroid left entirely to his own resources copied in crude form the older and best-built structures, introducing at all points of the compass into the walls of their poor erections what Mr. Franklin White and I have, on very substantial evidences, always considered to be purely "imitative patterns."

This process of deterioration was both gradual and general. It affected the whole mines' area of 700 x 600 miles (1126 x 965 K.), and it was consequently not "local or dynastic." With the decadent form of building, as

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shown some years ago in *The Ancient Ruins of Rhodesia*, an individuality of the structures, both in general characteristics and in detail, became strikingly apparent, for the natives, left to themselves, would naturally be led to adopt a general type of structure, such as is represented in the obviously and admittedly later buildings of Inyanga, Umtali, Khami, N'Natali, and in the rudely piled-up stone rampart walls which crown the summits of the kopjes in Southern Rhodesia.¹

In a recent number of *Globus* (Berlin, 91, 1907, pp. 229-232) Dr. S. von Passarge, who possesses considerable first-hand knowledge of South African peoples, in an article, *Ophir und die Zimbabwekultur*, states that the culture exhibited at the Zimbabwe Temple was of Asiatic origin. This conviction is shared to-day by the highest scientific authorities in Europe.

The writer of these chapters on *Pre-Historic Rhodesia* has never claimed the Zimbabwe country as having been a settled colony of the Sabæans of South Arabia in the sense in which the word "colony" is employed to-day. The Temple was most probably constructed under the actual direction of pre-Koranic Arabs, who were evidently the Sabæans, by negroids as labourers who had already been very largely influenced by men of Arab stock. The exercise of this influence was resultant of the pre-existing exploitation of the country by the Arabs for gold, and of the extensive export of that metal to Asia. In these exploitations the Arabs appear to have been assisted by western Indians, most probably only as labourers and miners. Nor do the Arabs appear to have traded for, or bought, the gold extracted from the rock mines during the pre-historic period of this country. These mining operations were being carried on long before the Zimbabwe Temple was

¹ These evidences of decadence, as we have already seen, are further found in the rock mines, the oldest, largest, and deepest of which show the greatest skill in mining. All mining experts affirm that the culture in mining was introduced in a perfected state, and after the display of this culture on a colossal scale, mining operations deteriorated very considerably, until complete Kafirisation was reached.



SOAPSTONE BIRDS FROM ZIMBABWE.

To face p. 364.]

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erected, this structure being but a resultant phase of such long-continued operations.

The main features of the ancient temples in Arabia, and also of the form of worship practised in ancient times both in Arabia and Western India, were undoubtedly reproduced at Zimbabwe. Had this foreign influence which is manifest at Zimbabwe arrived through a mingled Asiatic and negroid medium, it would be perfectly reasonable to expect that the form of the display of such culture would naturally suffer, the original significance of orientation, decoration, and emblem being somewhat blurred if not obscured. The absence of any inscriptions from Zimbabwe would therefore be accounted for, that the Temple may not have been erected for Arab use only, and that the medium by which such culture was introduced at Zimbabwe was a mingled one, being Arab, Indian, and negroid.

The ceremonial practised at Zimbabwe being altogether foreign to the minds of the masses of the local negroid, would in time become overburdened, lost, and finally obliterated, having, in such remote parts, to contend for existence against the older and established form of religious or non-religious ideas of the negroid who was in permanent occupation, upon whose ideas of worship or belief, for a time only, such foreign ceremonial practices were engrafted. This obliteration would necessarily follow as the operation of natural law, as Sir William F. Petrie, the Egyptologist, has so ably shown to have been the case in the evolution of the old religions of Egypt, where the older racial religions finally overburdened and obliterated the religious ideas which were from time to time imported into that country.

Massoude (915 A.D.) wrote of the gold export trade of Sofala only three hundred years subsequently to the promulgation of the Koran (610 A.D.), and he describes the long-established trade between Sofala and Arabia, Persia, India and China. This trade was in all probability but a survival of a trade in gold which had existed between Arabia and Sofala from time immemorial.

The subsequent arrival of the Moslem Magadoxo Arabs at Sofala at some time in the eleventh century, and their

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activities which, as we know on very definite historic statements, were strictly confined to the coast, can provide no explanation for the origin of the Zimbabwe Temple, or of its ceremonial, which was of pre-Moslem character, or of the rock mines, or of the Semitic impressions of distinctly pre-Moslem type on the negroid people, or of the introduction over the rock mines' area of trees and plants of Asiatic countries.

The age of the Zimbabwe Temple (and for the present the author must differentiate, for the reasons already given, between the Temple and other structures at Zimbabwe) dates back to the pre-Moslem period, that is, that it was erected at some indefinite time prior to 610 A.D., and was of a much later date than the commencement of the rock-mining operations though erected during their continuance. The Temple was but a resultant phase of such operations, just as the cathedral now being erected at New York is but one resultant phase of the intrusion of Europeans on the American continent which took place some centuries ago. The pre-Moslem Arabs intruded on this territory not for the purpose of constructing buildings, but to exploit the gold areas.

In Chapter V it was proved on certain ethnological evidences that the Temple was at least some centuries earlier than the date assigned to it by Professor Maciver.

It is quite evident that the vast amount of gold extracted from the rock of pre-historic Rhodesia, whatever its exact value may have been, was not obtained and exported within historic times, that is, subsequently to 915 A.D. On the other hand, it is equally as evident that pre-historic Rhodesia yielded a vast amount of gold in times which were in all probability contemporary with the gold operations of the old Sabæans which are mentioned in the Scriptures and by ancient historians, that is, prior to the commencement of the Christian era.

In replying to the conclusions of Professor Maciver the author has intentionally confined himself to dealing with the

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evidences obtainable from those ruins only which are mentioned by Professor Maciver. Of the evidences from over one hundred other ruins, some of which are of major importance, described some years ago by Mr. Neal and himself in *The Ancient Ruins of Rhodesia*, or from many scores of other ruins, some of major importance, more recently discovered by the author, nothing has been mentioned in this volume.

Professor Maciver's theory for the solution of the Rhodesian enigma undoubtedly presented most plausible and exquisitely fascinating features. It moreover possessed the great charm of originality. It was one that could not be ignored in an off-hand manner. It appealed strongly, at first sight, to one's reason, and had the author of this volume known nothing of rock mine, stone building, Bantu, and of the Arab and Portuguese writings, he would readily have accepted it as final. For this reason he most strongly sympathised with all who championed Professor Maciver's presentment of the case, and he naturally expected the whole scientific world would, at any rate for a time, at once rally round to accept the conclusions of the author of *Mediæval Rhodesia*. Certainly, some few of Professor Maciver's more zealous champions, who possessed no first-hand knowledge of the subjects they discussed, were somewhat precipitate in expressing their opinions and made some most extraordinary statements, greatly to the surprise and amusement of South African scientists.

It was impossible, at the time and at a moment's notice, to reply adequately to Professor Maciver's announcement of his "final solution." The subject was far too great, too intricate, and involved too many related issues, to be satisfactorily dealt with in a ten minutes' paper. In these circumstances the author was perfectly content with putting in an interim protest, and to allow the final reply to stand over for a year or two. Moreover, he was most anxious that the academic writers, those who announced themselves as being the "best qualified to judge," should have a perfectly clear opportunity of airing their opinions. They availed themselves very fully of their opportunity.

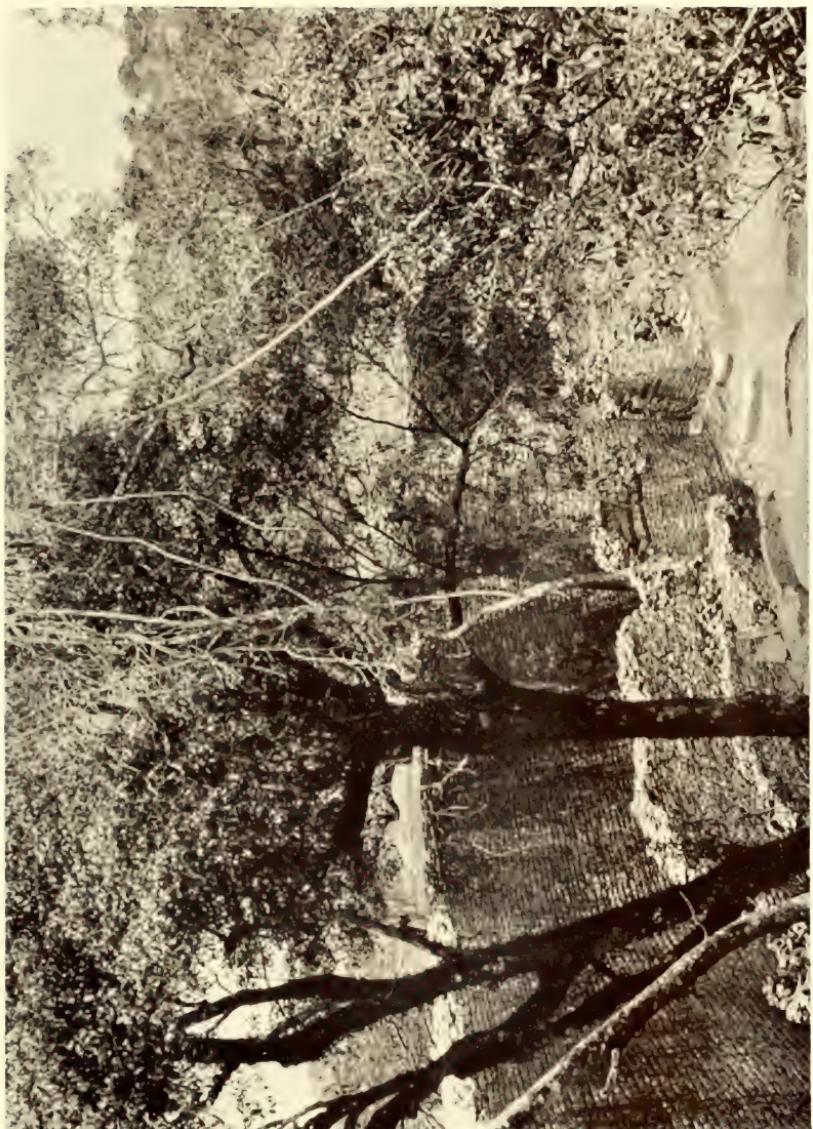
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But South Africa is "The Great Wait-a-Bit Land." The *Harpagophytum procumbens* is with us in more than plant form. It confronts one at the threshold of every avenue of South African research. It lurks unsuspectedly in every nook and corner. The effects of its crab-like claws are most painfully subtle, and it lacerates all who without knowledge of elementary veld-craft are unaware how to grapple it with perfect safety. It is the declared foe of the man in a hurry. Having defensive propensities—one of Nature's wonders, it protects the notoriously obstinate problems of South Africa against all "final solutions." During the last fifty years the fish-hook thorns of the "Wait-a-Bit!" have caught in the garments of great generals, administrators, politicians, reformers, and even scientists who, at sundry times, have been "sent out" by the very highest authorities,—who are fatally prone not to "trust the man on the spot," "to settle once and for ever" or "to put an end to the uncertainty" (Professor Maciver's own expressions) to the various problems of the sub-continent. But to this day these problems still remain unsolved, and it is only the startling humour arising out of these several excursions which prevents the very names of the missionaries from falling into complete oblivion. However, the moral of the latest excursion has by no means been lost on South Africans.

Pre-Historic Rhodesia is the first instalment of the reply to Professor Maciver's conclusions.

But before concluding the archæological portion of this volume we will follow on the spoor of the author of *Mediæval Rhodesia* to the Khami and Dhlo-dhlo ruins, which structures belong to the decadent period when the negroid was left entirely to his own unaided resources. These ruins, though their examination may assist us in filling in the gaps in our knowledge of mediæval Rhodesia, cannot, as was stated years ago, assist us much in ascertaining the origin of the art of building in stone as is exemplified at the Zimbabwe Temple.

EASTERN INTERIOR OF TEMPLE, ZIMBABWE (FROM SUMMIT OF NORTH WALL).



CHAPTER XIII

DHLO-DHLO,¹ KHAMI, AND N'NATALI RUINS

MANY of the objections raised in the previous chapters to Professor Maciver's statements concerning the Inyanga, Nani, Umtali, and Zimbabwe remains apply with equal force to similar statements made by him concerning the Dhlo-dhlo, Khami, and N'Natali ruins.

These three last-mentioned ruins are, as was shown some years ago, undoubtedly later than the Zimbabwe Temple, and also older than Inyanga, Nani, and Umtali. But they are considerably older than the date assigned to them by Professor Maciver. All the ruins lying to the west of the Zimbabwe-Matoppa sub-area are very much later than the Temple. The same may be said of the rock mines lying in this direction.

Dhlo-dhlo, Khami, and N'Natali were evidently erected either at the close of the rock-mining operations, or after their cessation, also after the period when the form of ceremonial practised at Zimbabwe had fallen into complete desuetude, and after the time when the general use of gold ornaments had gone by, and most probably very early in the river-sand washing period which extended back at least to 915 A.D.

¹ *Isi-Dhlo-dhlo* = head-ring worn by chiefs (Tebele). These ruins were in later times the residence of the *mombo* (chiefs), who were "subsequent squatters." The name *Dhlo-dhlo* for these ruins only dates from 1837. A succession of *mombos* lived here before that date and are said by the Ma-Tebele to have been Abolosi, the Tebele name for Ba-Rosie. They also were subsequent squatters from about one hundred and fifty years ago. Lewis Grout (*Zululand*) states that when the Ma-Tebele formed part of Chaka's people the terms *Kumalo* and *Dhlo-dhlo* were used indiscriminately for the leading family of the Ma-Tebele (see Chapter V, p. 131).

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The total absence of phallic emblems, and of drainage system, and the presence of obviously poorer constructed walls, and the absence or scarcity of gold articles point unmistakably to the decadent period. In this Mr. Franklin White, who has excavated here and who knows these ruins intimately, is in perfect agreement. Mr. Franklin White has his own case against Professor Maciver's "evidences" and conclusions as to datings concerning these ruins, as also have other competent authorities who have closely examined the ruins subsequently to Professor Maciver's visit.

Platforms.

I must adhere to what was stated in *The Ancient Ruins of Rhodesia* concerning these filled-in platforms and their construction. This has since been confirmed by the definite statements made by the Ba-Rosie of Jerri's, who were subsequent squatters at Khami Ruins till 1836, and which have already been cited.

Neither platforms nor huts are parts of the original structures of these ruins. There are poor walls which form no part of the original plans, these being built over débris and filled-in enclosures. These poorer walls are undoubtedly the work of both Ma-Karanga and Ba-Rosie—the Ba-Rosie succeeding the Ma-Karanga as still more subsequent squatters at these ruins. Such poor walls, which cannot for a moment be compared with the main walls, frequently have decorations which, as Mr. Franklin White agrees, are distinctly imitative in character.

Articles of the fourteenth century and those dating down to the seventeenth century, may very reasonably be expected to be found under such walls and platforms. Such structures are most certainly not "parts of the foundations of the main ruins," nor are they "the essential parts of the original building." In scores of other ruins throughout the country these platforms have nothing whatever to do with the original buildings.

The suggestion of "ceremonial reasons" for the levels of chiefs' and "witch-doctors' huts" built upon such filled-

SUBSEQUENT SQUATTERS AT RUINS

in platforms is wholly discredited by Native Commissioners, who doubt the source of Professor Maciver's information.

In 1895, my co-author, the late Mr. W. G. Neal, sank a shaft (which Professor Maciver did not re-open) through the platform at Dhlo-dhlo and proved that the huts upon it were much later than the main walls; that the filling-in material was taken from the summits of the main walls and included "partly dressed blocks" from the original walls; that there had been an earlier occupation on a lower level; and that the inner faces of the walls of the enclosures which had been so filled in were of partly dressed blocks, the labour of dressing which would have been altogether thrown away had the original occupiers constructed the platform.

At N'Natali there has been no such filling-in of such enclosures, as is the case in scores of ruins in the country below which later platforms such a profusion of gold ornaments has been frequently discovered.

At Khami No. I Ruin, over and across the filled-in main entrance, opened out five years ago, was a hut of the type which Professor Maciver states was "contemporary with the erection of the main walls," and also a poorly built low wall which ran right over the filled-in passage beneath. Neither could have been erected until after the passage and the enclosure to which the passage led, had been abandoned by their original occupiers, and had become completely filled up with débris of subsequent squatters and then levelled over.

Bases of Huts.

The bases of the huts at these three ruins, and at others on the same sub-area, are of the usual Ba-Rosie type. The Ba-Rosie have not been in the country two hundred years, if so long. They were undoubtedly among the subsequent squatters at these western ruins.

At N'Natali the clay-sided Ba-Rosie hut is not one hundred and fifty years old. Government Surveyors and others qualified to discuss the various forms of huts, and who are acquainted with the class of material used in

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its construction, state that had it been of greater age its broken edges would, in such an exposed position, have caused its ruin and complete disappearance long ago.

The Ba-Rosie on coming into the country appear to have gone straight to these ruins in Matabeleland, where they remained until 1837, when some went northward, and others crossed over eastwards into Mashonaland. This is a matter of record, and is also confirmed by the statements of the Ba-Rosie themselves. They evidently had no dread of the ruins as had the Ma-Karanga (the M'Holi and Ma-Kalaka sections of the Ma-Karanga, see Chapter XIV) who had already used many of them, as was their general practice, as cemeteries, just as their ancestors had done three hundred and fifty years ago.¹

The walls provided both protection and building material. The strategic positions were unique and inviting, and, moreover, there was always a regular supply of water close at hand. It was from these positions that the Ba-Rosie overlorded the Ma-Karanga who had already been the M'Holi (slaves) of Zulu invaders.

Professor Maciver failed altogether to notice the distinction between clay-sided and wattle-and-daub-sided huts, but an examination of the pottery peculiar to the Ba-Rosie, and the peculiar shape of the iron hoes he found in the débris outside such huts, ought to have drawn his attention to the class and style of the huts.

As shown on p. 295, the débris piles at No. I Ruin at Khami contain only Ba-Rosie articles, which are further claimed by these people as being of their own manufacture (see *Great Zimbabwe*, p. 129).

Professor H. Balfour was perfectly correct in stating (*R. G. S. J.*, April 1906, p. 342), "In comparing the two sites [Umtali and Khami] I could not but be struck by their individuality, as exhibited both in their general characteristics and in certain points of detail."

This individuality can be explained. Both ruins are far later than the well-built and complicated Zimbabwe

¹ In 1560 it was stated, "all the monomotapas are buried there [in the Beza Ruins]; it serves them for a cemetery" (III, 356).

DECADENCE IN BUILDING

Temple. The culture which had produced the Temple had already degenerated before these two sets of ruins, Umtali and Khami, were built. The natives, on the withdrawal of the outside influence caused by the cessation of rock-mining which had been carried on on a colossal scale, were then left entirely to themselves—that is, if they were of the same African race—and their poorer constructions therefore evidence a community in method, results and relics. Hence the similarity between Khami and its associated ruin and the Inyanga and Umtali remains, till the same almost imperceptibly merges into the stone-rampart villages of the Selous order (*i.e.* the Umtali), none of which latter are very old, some not being much more than two hundred years old. Natives left to themselves, and having the old Zimbabwe type buildings always before them, would, in their attempts to copy the older structures, certainly construct their buildings on one individual line.

The culture had changed, and the fabrics had become dissimilar to the older structures, while the later buildings took on a form which became general in all such later buildings throughout the country. But the Zimbabwe Temple and the buildings of that type were the prototypes of all the decadent buildings, and as time elapsed the later builders, as can be seen, gradually abandoned the older forms and methods of building. This decadence from the Zimbabwe type is further evidenced by the finds in these ruins, and also in the gradual decadence in mining.

Another point on which one must differ from Professor Maciver, is, that there are ample evidences that Umtali is of much later date than Khami, Dhlo-dhlo and N'Natali. The prototype "Kafir hut" theory of evolution which he propounds, but fails to substantiate, will not stand a moment's examination. It is absolutely clear, as shown in Chapter VII, that the Umtali remains were not erected until very long after the rock-mining operations had altogether ceased. Wooden posts and sticks *in situ*, exposed to the air, do not usually last for a thousand years.

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Professor Maciver further states, "The huts are not subsequent to the stone walls, for they occur not only outside them [the main walls] but inside them." This is correct in a sense. No ruin throughout the country could possibly have contained within its main walls accommodation for the large number of inhabitants residing on and near its site, whether as original occupiers or as subsequent squatters. At all the ruins in Rhodesia there are abundant evidences that the populations of both classes were greater than any building could possibly have accommodated. The structures outside could not by any means be considered as "integral parts of the main building." They were planted anywhere within a reasonable distance of the stone building.

It would be interesting to know whether Professor Maciver found "cement structures running under the girdle-walls" of these ruins. If he had done so, would he state at what points?

The centre of the walls, that is, between the outer and the inner faces of each wall, at Khami is filled up with fragments of granite, of all sizes and shapes, more or less loosely thrown together. This is the case at Inyanga (see p. 177), and is the outstanding feature of all the ruins of the decadent period. This practice is entirely absent in the original walls of the Temple at Zimbabwe (see *ibid.*).

Professor Maciver's Diggings.

At none of these ruins did Professor Maciver observe "the excavator's primary axiom of digging to bed-rock."

This information we have on his own admission (*M. R.* 64), also on that of Professor J. L. Myres (*R. G. S. Journal*, p. 69), and again on the report of Government Surveyors who have examined his trial sections. Professor Myres states what is quite correct, *i.e.* that Professor Maciver "did not touch bottom."

Concerning these three sets of ruins Professor Maciver is surprisingly general. "No doubt," as Professor Myres states, "he [Professor Maciver] did all that was

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possible in the time which he allowed himself at Dhlo-dhlo." Professor Maciver even doubts the results of his own findings, for he states (*M.R.* 64), "I am unable to decide whether this layer is older than the hut foundation, or contemporary with it. On the one hand *it might have been* deliberately placed there as a bed for the foundation; on the other hand, *it might have been the kitchen midden of an earlier settlement.*"

Professor Maciver did not, as Professor Myres has shown, "follow either stratum further than *up against* the walls." What with his generalisations, his own expressed doubts, his proofless denials, and his failure to examine foundations, Professor Maciver leaves his report on these three ruins in a very unsatisfactory condition. Recollecting Professor Doncaster's statement that at the Zimbabwe Temple Professor Maciver had omitted to examine the foundations of the main walls, we need not be surprised at his not acting on "the excavator's primary axiom" at these three ruins.

Professor Maciver's Finds.

But when his finds of articles at these ruins are considered we find ample cause to be still further dissatisfied with his report.

(1) We are told that there is "practical identity" of the modern pottery found at these ruins with that from the lowest floors at Zimbabwe" (*M.R.* 63). But he offers no proof whatever of the truth of his assertion. Nor does he say whether he means the pottery of the original occupiers of Zimbabwe or of the subsequent squatters there. There is no doubt but that the oldest pottery at these three ruins, and which underlies the Ba-Rosie débris, does resemble the pottery of the subsequent squatters at Zimbabwe, and this for the very good reason that both were made by Ma-Karanga and possibly about the same period.

Not a single fragment of the class of pottery found at any one of these three ruins has ever been found on "the lowest floor of the Zimbabwe Temple." This is proved

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by the plates of illustrations in Professor Maciver's own book. There is as great a difference in the make, material, form, pattern, colouring, and decoration between the pottery found in the three sets of ruins on the one hand, and that found with the phalli, gold, and carved soap-stone on the lowest floors of the Temple on the other, as there exists in the walls of the two types of buildings. The pottery found in the two types of ruins respectively affords strong evidence of a decided change in culture. Mr. C. H. Read, of the British Museum (see p. 261), has well pointed out the difficulty in proving such an assertion as made by Professor Maciver. On this matter we can await further "evidences" from Professor Maciver, that is, if he can produce them. The positive evidences to the contrary effect are stated in *Great Zimbabwe*, p. 129.

(2) But he also found Nankin China at Dhlo-dhlo. Such a find was to be expected. It would naturally be found *under* the clay-sided Ba-Rosie huts; for the Ba-Rosie did not arrive from north of the Zambesi until after the Portuguese trading had ceased. Herein is very good evidence that these ruins were built in the decadent period—that is, either immediately before the rock-mining had quite ceased or early in the river-sand-washing period which followed the rock-mining period during which Zimbabwe had been erected.

Yet, as Professor Myres states (*ibid.* p. 69), "*as it happens he [Professor Maciver] has omitted to mention the depth (either absolute or relative) at which he found his fragments of sixteenth-century Nankin china in the kitchen midden, in this we are confronted with the unknown.*" This is a feature in all Professor Maciver's discoveries, especially of the now notorious find of Nankin china in No. V enclosure at the Temple, the location of which he has not even yet given any particulars.

But Professor Myres continues: "Nankin china of the seventeenth century was discovered below the cement foundations of a hut [on a later platform] which is, in Professor Maciver's opinion [there being no evidence advanced] beyond all question contemporary with the first stones

CONFLICTING DATINGS OF CHINA

which were ever laid at Dhlo-dhlo [on this point issue is at once joined]."

Now comes the climax. "It is a pity also," observes Professor Myres, "that Mr. C. H. Read (of the British Museum), though he dates these fragments of china "to the seventeenth century without doubt," has to add "*but I have not seen the original!*"! (*M. R.* 82).

Thus, just as in the case of the Zimbabwe Nankin china found by Professor Maciver's labourers in the disturbed soil at Zimbabwe, and concerning which there will always be grave doubts, we are again faced with the "Unknown" with regard to the location of the china at Dhlo-dhlo, and have to rely on a report on an article *which Mr. C. H. Read states he never saw.*

Yet Professor Maciver, on his own authority only, asserts in his book, and all his reviewers have implicitly relied on his statement and have also copied his dating, that the china was of "*the seventeenth century,*" and on this dating of the china he and they have also dated Dhlo-dhlo, Khami, and N'Natali, because it was found *under* a hut, which structures are not contemporary with the main walls. In his book he constantly refers the reader to Mr. C. H. Read's opinion as to the date of the china, but he never once states that Mr. Read was obliged to admit that it was not shown to him.

However, I greatly prefer to accept the opinion of Dr. Wallace Budge, Head Keeper of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities at the British Museum, who considered the Nankin china which I submitted to him to belong to the thirteenth or fourteenth century. Specimens were also sent to Germany for expert opinions, which coincide with that of Dr. Wallace Budge, some reports stating "from the eleventh to the fourteenth century." The South African Museum also obtained expert opinion, which bore out that of Dr. Budge.¹

¹ Dr. F. Stuhlmann, of Amania, German East Africa, who is the author of scientific works on those regions, and to whom the identical pieces of Nankin china found by me in the débris of subsequent squatters in the Temple were recently sent for examination, together

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Under these circumstances Professor Maciver is not justified in his repeated statements concerning "*the seventeenth century*" date of the china, upon which dating his dating of these ruins solely rests, and which china has never been submitted by him to scientific determination.

General.

We may safely dismiss Professor Maciver's "final solution" concerning the age of Khami, Dhlo-dhlo, and N'Natali. His own expressed uncertainties and doubts are alone sufficient to justify this course. There is in his report concerning these ruins a feeling on his part of dissatisfaction with his own investigations which must place the archæologist on his guard with reference to his conclusions. The "Unknown" is far too prominent. His lack of knowledge of the "subsequent squatters"—the Ba-Rosie—shows clearly that he has not grasped the situation, and was not sufficiently informed to pronounce final judgment as to datings. Thus his report leaves very much to be desired.

His mistakes are not "formal defects," but extend, as every archæologist must admit, to the very heart and core of the whole question. No one with any respect for science could claim that a solution founded on such doubtful evidences was satisfactory, and beyond questioning.

Concerning these three sets of later ruins I have nothing to add to what was stated in *The Ancient Ruins of Rhodesia*, or what is given in Mr. Franklin White's descriptions of them, which were published in the proceedings of Rhodesia Scientific Association. Mr. Franklin White has his own reasons for taking serious exception to several vital points stated by Professor Maciver, and we can afford to await his reply.

with some beads found in association with the china, gives the period of both china and beads to be "*between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries.*" He further states, "pieces of celadon are often found at the coast of German East Africa in places where the Persian settlers had their villages." Dr. Stuhlmann adds, "I was always persuaded that the unaided negroes never evolved the Zimbabwe culture."

'FINAL SOLUTIONS' PREMATURE

In a preliminary criticism of Professor Maciver's conclusions as to these ruins, Mr. Franklin White very pertinently remarks, "It is difficult to accept as conclusive the opinion that Dhlo-dhlo and the N'Natali ruins represent the final and best examples in stone work of a people which in a few centuries [one hundred years is Professor Maciver's limit, but his own datings show that this period never existed] worked its way from the Inyanga to the Zimbabwe district, and then disappeared and promptly forgot its knowledge" (*Rhodesia Scientific Association Proceedings*, November 1905).

There is one other remark to offer with regard to these three ruins—especially Khami. An examination of the walls shows that the oldest portions of these ruins have not yet been unearthed. This I pointed out some years ago in *The Ancient Ruins of Rhodesia*. Till more work has been done dogmatic assertions and "final solutions" are altogether out of place. When we consider the many scores of large ruins of an old type scattered over our country which still remain absolutely virgin for the explorer, one realises that "final solutions" are at present most imprudent.

Ruins Unexplored.

For locations, outline, descriptions, etc. see *The Ancient Ruins of Rhodesia* (Hall and Neal), second edition, 1904.

Great Zimbabwe (portions).	Two unnamed Ruins in East Belingwe district.
Khami Ruins "	Wheel of Fortune Ruins.
Umnukwana Ruins	Bala-bala Ruins.
Little Umnukwana Ruins.	Two unnamed Ruins in East Filabusi district.
Gombo's No 1 Ruins.	Dhlo-dhlo Ruins (portions).
Gombo's No. 2 Ruins.	N'Natali Ruins "
Three unnamed Ruins in M'Pateni district.	Tuli Ruins.
Mundie Ruins.	Lumeni Ruins.
Nuanetsi Ruins.	Golulu Ruins.
Little Nuanetsi Ruins.	Little Golulu Ruins.
Essengwe Ruins.	Thabas Imamba or Mombo
Little Essengwe Ruins.	Ruins.
Escepwe Ruins.	Thabas I'Hau Ruins.
Little Escepwe Ruins.	

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Bembezwaan Ruins.	Gatling Hill Ruins.
Jombi Ruins.	Gwadalowayo Ruins.
Check Ruins.	Shebona Ruins.
Watoba Ruins.	Lobela Ruins.
Isiknombo Ruins.	Matendere or 'Matindella' Ruins.
Molindula Ruins.	Umnyati Ruins.
Burangwe Ruins.	Lundi Ruins.
Ihurzi Ruins.	Lower Lundi Ruins.
Sesinga Ruins.	Seven distinct Ruins on Umingwani.
Bochwa Ruins.	Sovereign No. 1 Ruins.
Little Bochwa Ruins.	Sovereign No. 2 Ruins.
M'Popoti Ruins.	Inyota Ruins.
Little M'Popoti Ruins.	Chain of seven Ruins (Mazoe).
M'Wele Ruins.	Bambarari Ruins.
M'Wele Tributary Ruins.	Mount Fura (Refuse) Ruins.
Wedza or Baden-Powell Ruins.	Inyanga Ruins.
Evans's Store Ruins.	Umtelekwe Ruins.
Defiance Ruins.	Impakwe Ruins.
Ingangase Ruins.	Shashi Ruins.
Impanka Ruins.	Lipokoli Ruins.
Choko Ruins.	Baobab Kop Ruins.
Mudnezero Ruins.	Mullens's Ruins.
Chum Ruins.	Bili Ruins.
Meewee Ruins.	Morven Ruins.
Ensidi Ruins.	Panda-ma-tenka Ruins.
M'Telegwa Ruins.	Bulalema Ruins.
Copper Ruins.	Fig-tree Ruins.
Umvunga Ruins.	Umvutcha Ruins.
Little Umvunga Ruins.	Tulika Ruins.
Little M'Telegwa Ruins.	Jerri Ruins.
Sebakwe-Umnyati Ruins.	Umrongwe Ruins.
Tagati Ruins.	Masunda Ruins
Tati Ruins.	Chugwa Ruins.
Selkirk Ruins.	Sinanombi Ruins.
Semalali Ruins.	Regina Ruins.
Macloutsie Ruins.	Dechow Ruins.
Macloutsie-Lotia-Kana Ruins.	Zeeri River Ruins.
Lotsani-Limpopo Ruins.	Chironga Ruins.
Pongo Ruins.	Metema Ruins.
Dawney Ruins.	Mabetsa Ruins.
Daka Ruins.	Little Zimbabwe Ruins.
Wankie Ruins.	Melsetter Ruins.
Lower Shanghani Ruins.	Umtelekwe (Sabi) Ruins.
North Matoppa Ruins.	Posti Ruins.
Lower Khami Ruins.	Yellow Jacket Ruins.
Umsimbetze Ruins.	Chipadzi Ruins.
Kulukulu Ruins.	
M'Badzulu Ruins.	

UNEXPLORED RUINS

Wainzi Ruins.	Linchwe le Komo Ruins.
Onave Ruins.	Zabma Hill Ruins.
Stone Door Ruins.	Monarch Ruins.
Makombi Ruins.	Semokwe Ruins.
Ancient Aqueduct Area and numerous unnamed Ruins.	Three-Mile Spruit Ruins.
Zimbabwe Ruins in Portuguese territory.	"World's View" Ruin.
Vukwe Ruins.	Iron Kopje Ruins.
Warnford Ruins.	Impakwe Ruins.
Irene Ruins.	Fort Tuli Ruins.
Makukukupene Ruins.	Ipagi Ruins.
Koodoo-Marvel Ruins.	Eighteen unnamed Ruins in Salisbury district. etc., etc.
Mabookiwaneni Ruins.	

And over one hundred other ruins, many being of major importance discovered since 1904.

ETHNOLOGICAL AND
PHILOLOGICAL

CHAPTER XIV.

THE MA-KARANGA OF 1505-1760, AND OF TO-DAY

Derivation of Ma-Karanga.

THE derivation of Ma-Karanga has always been considered to be *Ma*, the Chicaranga plural prefix = people; *Ka*, the classifying prefix = of; *i-langa*, the Zulu word for sun : "The People of the Sun."

But in Mashonaland one never hears the name "Ma-Kalanga" mentioned by the natives themselves. It has been said in explanation that among these people *r* invariably takes the place of *l*. This is perfectly correct, but this applies to loan words only, for we find the *Tebele* Bulawayo becomes *Burawayo*; *Selukwe*, *Serugwe*; *Belingwe*, *Beringwe*; *gula*, *gura*, etc.; also Umtali is known only as *Umtari*, while the Britisher's Salisbury is pronounced *Saresburi*. But this substitution of *r* for *l* is not, however, a sufficient explanation, for the Zulu and *ama*-prefix people invariably change the essential Chicaranga *r* into *l*.

The writer considers that the correct derivation is not that which has been popularly accepted, that *Ka* in this instance is not a classifying prefix but is the first syllable of the Chicaranga word *Karanga* = evening star, the evening star being commonly used to denote the west. Moreover, the word *i-langa*, the sun, is not in the Chicaranga vocabulary, but is in those of Zulu and Zulu varieties, the Chicaranga words for sun being *I-zhuba* or *I-zwari*. Mocaranga was the name which the natives of Mocaranga applied to themselves four hundred years ago, and which to-day they claim as their proper designation, excepting that the prefix *Mo* given by the Portuguese is rendered *Ma*, but

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only when the name of the people is mentioned. As the title Ma-Karanga is not a derisive epithet given by neighbouring tribes of Zulu variety, we may naturally expect to find the derivation of Ma-Karanga, which is a proper name, in the Chicaranga vocabulary.

The title "People of the Sun" is evidently an unwarranted imposition introduced by travellers who knew Zulu, but who were unacquainted with Chicaranga. The natives of Mashonaland do not claim the title "People of the Sun," and will at once say they are Karanga, or Ma-Karanga, and that their country is Mo-Karanga, *Mo* being the usual locative prefix of to-day just as, according to the records, it was so employed in the early part of the sixteenth century. Mocaranga is the form for both country and people given in the records. Thus, Father Dos Santos states (VII, 288), "[The] Monomatapa and all his vassals are Mocaranga [Ma-Karanga], a name given to them as inhabitants of the lands of Mo-caranga [the locative prefix given here is correct], and they speak a language called Mocaranga [Chicaranga]." As shown later, the Portuguese writers adopted no system in their orthography of the Chicaranga prefixes and suffixes, *mo*, *ma*, *ba* and *mu*, and even the European plural formed by *s* being employed by them indiscriminately.

The correct name of Mashonaland to-day is Mo-Karanga—the same name which it, together with the present Matabeleland, bore five hundred years ago, and its ethnical significance is at once apparent, while it also has the great advantage of being the name known to the natives themselves.

Therefore, the writer has discarded the name Ma-Kalanga and has adopted that of Ma-Karanga. Ma-Kalanga is the natural Tebele rendering of Ma-Karanga, as all the Zulu varieties invariably convert the Chicaranga *r* into *l*, just as the Ma-Karanga convert all Zulu *l*'s in loan words into *r*'s. This decision has met with the unreserved approval of the highest Bantu scholars, especially of such as are also intimately acquainted with the Chicaranga language and the Ma-Karanga themselves.

EPITHETS BESTOWED ON TRIBES

But though the Portuguese writers of the sixteenth century were not, as already stated, perfectly correct with their orthography of Bantu names, yet in the case of the name of the country of the *monomotapa* they were all in agreement. Evidently the name of the country was well recognised as Mo-Karanga, and there was therefore no possibility of making any mistake with regard to it.

Epithets Bestowed on the Ma-Karanga.

Various neighbouring tribes of Zulu varieties have bestowed certain derisive epithets on the Ma-Karanga.

It must be recollected that many of the South African tribes do not to-day bear the name which they acknowledge as their own, but the names, frequently derisive epithets, given to such tribes by neighbouring tribes. In time such epithets became the recognised designations of those people, though their employment is altogether without ethnical significance. This is further shown in the derivations of the epithets being foreign to the languages of the people to whom they were applied. Tribal names of an opprobrious character, such as "The Slaves," "The Dirty People," "The Weevils," "The Narrow Cheeks," "The Go-Naked," "The Rats," etc., are not correct names of people, and it is improbable that such epithets were ever originated and adopted by the people most concerned. *Fingo* is not the name of the Fingoes, but a derisive epithet bestowed by neighbouring tribes. Ma-Tebele is not a proper name for the Ma-Tebele, but a nickname given them by the Basuto (Bryant). Mantatee, the invaders, is a Sechuana name for other than Bechuana people. "The Men beyond the river" is not the name by which the people concerned called themselves.

Fortunately, the Portuguese records, dating from four hundred years ago, enable the philologist to avoid the misconception caused by such epithets with regard to the names of Karanga tribes.

Ma-shona.—Father Dos Santos, who was acquainted with Chicaranga, was apparently aware that the Ma-karanga were known outside their territories, or most

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probably by their Ba-Tonga subjects, as "The Hissers," Ma-shona (*shona* = to hiss), for in comparing the sounds of the Chicaranga with those of Zulu languages he states (VII, 289), "The Mocaranga speak and enunciate their words with the point of the tongue, and with the lips in such a way that they pronounce many words almost whistling." The widely distinct sounds of the speech of these two peoples is alluded to later. This feature of "hissing" would only be noticed by strangers, and at that time probably by the Ba-tonga, a Zulu variety, who formed part of the population of the *monomotapa*'s country to the north-east of Mocaranga. It certainly would not be noticed by the people themselves.

Until recently it has been generally considered that the name Ma-shuna was a corruption of *Ma-shuli*, slaves. This Chicaranga scholars say is most improbable. Also that the name conveyed the idea of slavery, and was derived from *shunama* = to cringe. This is also considered as improbable, as *shunama* is a Chicaranga word, and the Ma-Karanga were hardly the people to call themselves "The Cringers," that is, supposing Ma-shona or Ma-shuna were derived from *shunama*, which is greatly doubted.

M'Holi.—But the Ma-Karanga also bore the epithet of *M'Holi* (slaves), and it was bestowed upon them by the Ma-Tebele, for there is no reference to their bearing such a name until after the conquest of the country in 1837-8. *M'Holi* is a name of Zulu and Tebele origin, and is not found in the Chicaranga language.

I-tjiña.—A further epithet bestowed on the Ma-Karanga was *I-tjiña*, a Tebele word meaning a low class of slaves, or as usually translated, "dogs." Frequently two epithets were used together, *I-tjiña ka M'Holi*, "dogs of slaves," or more correctly, "slaves of slaves."

Ma-Kalaka.—Another epithet applied to the Ma-Karanga is that of *Ma-Kalaka*. This is the Sechuana name for these people, and the word is unknown in Chicaranga. The natives of Bechuanaland still speak of the Ma-Karanga of Matabeleland as *Ma-Kalaka*, which

TRIBAL EPITHETS AND NICK-NAMES

generally means the people who are "rubbish," or something thrown away as not being needed.

Ma-swina.—This is another derisive title bestowed on the Ma-Karanga. Thus we have the expression, "*ma-swina a nama-swina*," which means, "the Ma-Karanga are a dirty people," the repetition of the adjective being a form of emphasis, to be construed as "very dirty."

These appellations, *Ma-shona*, *M'Holi*, *I-tjiña ka M'Holi*, *Ma-Kalaka*, *Ma-Swina*, are all resented by the Ma-Karanga of Mashonaland, who will become most indignant if any one of these terms is applied to them.

Ma-gomo.—This was the name of such of the Ma-Karanga of Mashonaland who lived in the hill district between Selukwe and Salisbury, meaning "The people of the hills." The derivation is pure Chicaranga, and the name was what this section of the Ma-Karanga called themselves, and was not derisive in character. *Ma-goma* means "people of the hills." This section of the Ma-Karanga gave considerable trouble to the Matabele in 1836-8, being a more warlike tribe than their fellows in Matabeleland. The Ma-Tebele, Elliott states, knew them as "*Ama-Gomo*—the hill people." These are believed to have been responsible for the innumerable low ramparts of piled-up stones, not walls, to be found on the hills of this part of the country.

There are other names given to and acknowledged by the Ma-Karanga themselves, but these are mainly local, and originated, as the records show was the case, four hundred years ago, from the special employments, ornaments worn, etc., by certain sections of the Ma-Karanga. Thus the use or non-use of the *pelele* or lip-ring, the wearing or non-wearing of the *andoro*, the filing or non-filing of the front teeth,¹ the particular arrangement of the hair by certain sub-tribes, the making and using of certain shaped implements and weapons, all these features being localised both in the sixteenth century and to-day, are found only in certain parts of the old Mocaranga, that is, the present

¹ The first mention of the practice of filing the front teeth is by Massoude (915 A.D.).

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Southern Rhodesia. But each of such features provided the origin for certain names of people used only in particular and definable parts of the country.

The Country of the Ma-Karanga.

The name of the country early in the sixteenth century was Mo-Caranga, the name known to the natives of to-day. At that time the area occupied by the Ma-Karanga is stated to have been that which corresponds to the present Lo-Maghonda, Mazoe, Mo-Toko, and the whole of Southern Mashonaland, and extended into neighbouring kingdoms which were not then included in the empire of the *monomotapa*. The Ma-Karanga also occupied the whole of the hinterland between Sofala and the mountainous escarpment of the central plateau, southwards to inland from Cape Correntes, excepting on the coast line where Ba-Tonga were located. The Ma-Karanga are also stated in the records to have extended south as far as Embo (Natal).¹

The records give no definite information as to the extent of country inland occupied by the Ma-Karanga south of the present Mazoe and in Matabeleland. No names are given by the writers of places further south than sixty miles north of the present Salisbury, except the general name of Toro (Ancient), this being the area of the rock mines of Belingwe, Gwanda, and Selukwe. But from the contexts it is perfectly clear that Ma-Karanga had long been in occupation of the present Matabeleland, which on other grounds is not difficult of proof.

The districts occupied by the Ba-Tonga are stated to have been the kingdom of Manica (which was immediately

¹ In 1589, it is stated, "there [south of Cape Correntes] live certain Kafirs called Mocaranga" (II, 202). In 1575 we read, "The people of the country [Limpopo coast] are of the Mo-Kanga nation [from context, Mocaranga], and our friends" (I, 327). Their language was Chicaranga. Later we find Ma-Karanga near the Delagoa Bay (VIII, 120, 126). Father Torrend and other philologists proved this migration to Natal had taken place long before the records were re-discovered. The stone walls of cattle-kraals in these regions have been always attributed to joint Ma-Karanga and Leghoya influences.

COUNTRY OF THE MA-KARANGA

east of the mountainous escarpment, in the Massi-kessi district, which kingdom did not then include the present Umtali (*Umtare*) district, which was in Mo-Karanga), and the kingdom of Baroe, which was the territory between Manica and the Zambesi, and included the Inyanga mountains. These people also occupied a narrow strip of coastline from the Zambesi delta southwards to the mouth of the Limpopo.

Before the Portuguese arrived, the Ba-Tonga occupied the kingdom of Otongue, which was the hinterland of Cape Correntes, but a section of the Ma-Karanga from the north had already driven out the Ba-Tonga. When Fathers Silveira and Fernandes visited Otongue (1562), a section of the Ma-Karanga were not only in possession of Otongue, but had extended, as is shown in a previous note, further south to Natal.

A people of Zulu variety and more akin to the Ba-Tonga of Manica and Baroe than to the Ma-Karanga, called the Mongas, who formed a tributary kingdom of the *monomotapa*, occupied a district on the south bank of the Zambesi lying between the Lupata mountains to just south-east of Tete, this district including the lower Mazoe from about twenty miles from the confluence of that river with the Zambesi.

The tribes occupying on the north bank of the Zambesi were as follows: the Macuas north of the Zambesi delta, the Maravi from the east side of the Chiri (Shiré) to Cabarbaça (Kebra-basa Rapids), west of which were the Bosongas (Ba-Senga).

The records show that the Ba-Tonga of Manica and Baroe, and also the Mongas, were much blacker in skin than the Ma-Karanga, that they were not so intelligent as the Ma-Karanga,¹ that they were exceedingly warlike, and from their mountain fastnesses constantly fell upon the Ma-Karanga, who are stated to have been a peaceful and

¹ The Ma-Karanga were "not of a very black colour" (VII, 251), they were "not warlike," and "a better people than the Bongas" (I, 24; II, 66), and in contradistinction their language was "most polished" (VII, 289), and they were "handsome" (VII, 206).

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altogether unwarlike people. In fact, it was the Ba-Tonga of Manica and Baroe, and their kin, the Mongas, who originated and kept alive the chronic state of warfare and rebellion which forms the great feature of the records from 1505 to 1760, and dates back for at least a century, if not for much longer, before that time.

The "Empire of the Monomotapa."¹

Very early in the sixteenth century "the empire of the monomotapa" was stated to be on the south side of the Zambesi River, extending from the Cuama Rivers or the "five mouths" of the Zambesi,² inland to two hundred and fifty leagues from the Indian Ocean (I, 22; VI, 366). The most westerly place-name given in the records in which was Npande, the northerly *zimbae* or residence of the *monomotapa*, on the banks of the Moosengueze River, a south-bank tributary of the Zambesi. On modern maps this river appears as Musengeasi, Zingesi, and M'Zingesi. There is ample evidence that Mocaranga extended to the southward bend of the Zambesi. The first mention of Zumbo is in 1749 (V, 215).

Including vassal kingdoms it was "more than eight hundred leagues³ in circumference" (III, 128), but Mocaranga proper was "three hundred leagues in circumference" (III, 354). In 1590 the "empire" was stated to be two hundred and fifty leagues in length and the same in breadth (VII, 274). It included a strip of country extending to the coast between the Luabo mouth of the Zambesi and the Tendancula River, which latter is on modern maps as Tendaculo (VI, 391; VII, 274, 286, 355).

On the west and south-west of Mocaranga Proper was the extensive vassal kingdom of Butua (III, 129, 227), which on modern maps has shrunk into a district in northern Mafungabusi. On the east Mocaranga Proper was bounded by Manica (I, 29), and also by the kingdoms

¹ *Munu-mu-Tapa* (see p. 32).

² Father M. Barretto (1667) wrote: "Our discoverers, finding five rivers in it [the Zambesi delta], called them the rivers of Cuama."

³ For the "league" of the Records (three English miles), see p. 424.

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of Quiteve, which comprised the hinterland of Sofala, and by the kingdom of Sabia or of the Sedanda, which lay south of Quiteve and included the *Sabi* watershed, and extended to Inhambane (Inyambane).

The distances given in the records are most unreliable, especially those relating to territories which the Portuguese never visited. De Lima (1859) in his *Possesões Portuguezas*, in dealing with the distances given by the early Portuguese writers in South-east Africa, states, "As distancias que mencionâmos são approximadas." This is shown to be the case in the tables of distances given in Chapter XV of this volume.

In 1556 the sub-kingdoms of Mocaranga, still retained by the *monomotapa*, are stated, III, 355, 356, to have been twenty-three in number—

(1) *Mongas*, (2) *Baroe*, (3) *Manica*, (4) *Boessa [Beza]*, (5) *Maungo*, (6) *Zimba*, (7) *Chigue*, (8) *Chiria*, (9) *Chidima*, (10) *Boquiza*, (11) *Inhabanzo*, (12) *Cheruvia*, (13) *Condesaca*, (14) *Daburia*, (15) *Macurube*, (16) *Mungussey*, (17) *Antanara*, (18) *Choe*, (19) *Chungwe*, (20) *Diza*, (21) *Romba*, (22) *Russini*, (23) *Chirao*.

It will be noticed that *Toróa*, or *Toro*, the territory containing "the most ancient mines known in the country" (De Barros, VI, 267), and containing the "very ancient" stone building and tower (Zimbabwe), is not included in Mocaranga, *Toróa*, or *Toro*, being in the independent kingdom of *Sabia* or *Sedanda*. All attempts to claim Zimbabwe as the "monomotapan capital" are for many reasons absurd (see *Gazetteer* later).

Such, in brief outline, was "the empire of the *monomotapa*" in the very early part of the sixteenth century. But in 1506 it is stated that a tradition prevailed among the natives that "the empire of the *monomotapa* formerly included the kingdoms of *Manica*, *Quiteve*, and *Sabia*. Thus we read: "We have already stated that monomotapa was *anciently* a much more powerful king before the states of *Quiteve*, *Tshikanga* [*Manica*], and *Sedanda* [*Sabia*] revolted from him" (VII, 285). Again (VII, 273), "This kingdom of monomotapa is situated in the

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lands called Mocaranga, all of which lands *formerly* belonged to the empire of the monomotapa, and at present are divided into four kingdoms, viz. the kingdom which at present belongs to monomotapa, the kingdom of Quiteve, the kingdom of Sedanda, and that of Tshikanga.

"This division was made by an emperor monomotapa, who not wishing, or not being able, to govern such distant lands, made three of his sons governors thereof, sending one named Quiteve to govern the lands extending along the river of Sofala [Buzi and Revue], another named Sedanda to govern the lands traversed by the river Sabi; and the third, named Tshikanga, he sent to govern the lands of Manica.

"These three governors, his sons, as soon as their father died and another son who was at court succeeded to the empire, rose in arms with their territories, and were never again willing to obey the monomotapa *or his successors*, each one alleging that the said empire was his."

Some of the early writers claimed that the "empire" once extended to the Orange River, that it reached from the Indian Ocean to the Atlantic Ocean, and that it marched with Angola. But this was mere hearsay, though there is no doubt it extended very far to the south, but the territories in that direction did not contain Ma-Karanga, but were tributary countries occupied by other Bantu tribes. It may be assumed, however, that the "empire," even after its disruption, was the most powerful and most extensive Bantu domination yet known to research.

But the grandiloquently exaggerated descriptions of the *monomotapa* and his "empire," given by the early writers, may be safely dismissed. For "emperor" we must read paramount chief: for "ministers of state," sub-chiefs and headmen; and for "royal palaces," kraals of wattle-and-daub huts. The Portuguese gloried in describing their "conquest," which was never accomplished, and threw a false halo of royalty over the ruler of the country, who was but an important Bantu chief. To those who know well

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the Ma-Karanga of to-day, the records in parts provide humorous reading. Even De Lima and De Corvo deride the exaggerated descriptions of the early Portuguese writers.

A topographical gazetteer of Mocaranga, and of the other districts mentioned in connection with it, will be given in Chapter XV.

Origin of the Ma-Karanga.

Though the Portuguese records could not possibly deal with such a matter as the origin of the Ma-Karanga branch of the great Bantu race, yet their writers indirectly and altogether unconsciously afford several clues which enable the ethnologist and philologist to interpret, on fairly reliable grounds, at any rate some of the past of this most interesting people.

In the first instance we find a branch of the Bantu family which at one time, most probably immediately after its arrival south of the Zambesi about 800 A.D., became to some extent *de-Abantu-isèd* by contact with some non-Bantu people, probably of foreign and eastern origin ; that later, this contact ceasing either by the withdrawal of the foreign element or by its absorption by the Ma-Karanga, the process of *de-Abantu-isation* was not only arrested, but there was a decided reversion to the true Bantu type. But the effect of such *de-Abantu-isation*, whatever its degree may have been, still remained in certain of the physical, religious, and linguistic features of this people, and are discernible to this day.¹

This is remarkable when it is realised, as shown by the philologist, and as confirmed by the records of the sixteenth

¹ Next to the unpleasant sight of an Albino Karanga infant is that of a Jewish-looking Karanga babe, with skin of light colour. In the latter, the facial features are astonishingly Semitic, while those of the negroid are only slightly in evidence. Such a child has usually a most prematurely old-looking appearance, and one often wonders whether it can possibly be the off-spring of its alleged parents. By the time it has arrived at puberty this Semitic appearance is not so pronounced, it being subdued by that of the negroid. Still, the Semitic features are noticeable when the child becomes a full-grown man or woman.

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century, and further by the examination of native traditions and customs, that the Ma-Karanga have never been a sea-board people except in their later extension to the Limpopo coast. The impression was evidently originated on the inland territory which corresponds to the rock mines and ruins' area of Southern Rhodesia. Bantu students agree that the Ma-Karanga, although not the first branch of that family to cross to the south of the Zambesi, were among the earliest to arrive, but that they were the first Bantu to occupy the mines and ruins' area from which they have never migrated, though at a much later period sections of them broke away from the main tribe and went south as far as *Embo*, which in later times became known as Natal.

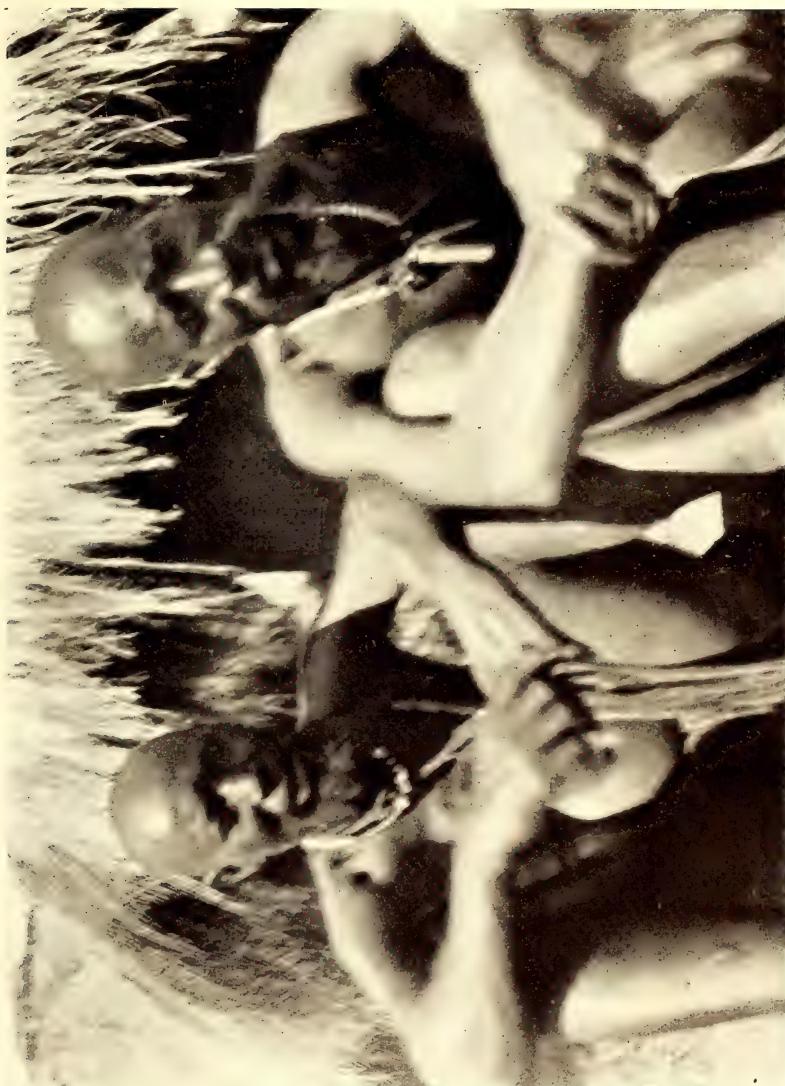
All Bantu scholars claim that the Ma-Karanga bear an impression which must have originated with contact with Semitic intruders, and also with those from Western India.

Side by side with these features, and exactly on the same well-defined area, is a further problem of which Bantu authorities affirm no solution can be found save in some cause originating beyond the shores of South-east Africa. This lies in the presence of pre-historic gold mines sunk to depth in rock, which mines cover an area of at least seven hundred by six hundred miles; also in the presence of many scores of massive buildings of stones, a resultant phase of the rock-mining operations, and of other and much later and poorer buildings which are the work of the Ma-Karanga; and also in the presence of a form of worship of a phallic character apparently allied to similar worship in Semitic countries and Western India, and which is pronounced by authorities to be altogether foreign to any form of ceremonial of either past or present Bantu.

It must be borne in mind that we find the physical, religious, and linguistic peculiarities of the Ma-Karanga are confined to one area, as likewise are the rock mines and stone buildings, neither of which latter are to be found anywhere else south of the Great Lakes, though there are in several other Bantu peoples, but in a less degree, some characteristics which are generally described as being "Semitic."

All these phenomena being localised in one part of South

SEMITIC FEATURES OF MA-KARANGA.



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EVIDENCES OF INDIAN INFLUENCES

Africa and completely absent elsewhere on the sub-continent, suggests that the solution of one problem will lead to the solution of the others. It is impossible, therefore, to deal with each problem separately without reference to all, seeing the phenomena are so intimately related in area, apparently in period, but certainly in association, though one may be but a resultant phase, possibly in much later times, of the others. Thus the winning of gold being the great originating cause of these activities, the art of building in stone might reasonably be supposed to have followed later.

Sir H. H. Johnstone is perfectly in agreement with all authorities on the Bantu when he states, "My own belief is that the presence in Africa, south of the Zambesi, of Bantu negroes is a relatively modern phase." Massoude's *Golden Meadows* shows (see *ante*, Chapter III, p. 84) that the Bantu had at this time (915 A.D.) already extended to the Sofala country. The general consensus of opinion of Bantu scholars is that the Bantu first crossed to the south of the Zambesi (generally about) 800 A.D., and not later. Historic record, Arabian, Persian and Portuguese, as well as research, show that the Ma-Karanga must have occupied the mines and ruins' area for at least the best part of a thousand years.

The question naturally arises, What people did the Ma-Karanga find on this area? Was it some surviving remnants of Arabs, Indian and negroid mixed in blood, and of no high order? In Massoude's time (915 A.D.) large colonies of Indians were already settled in Madagascar, the Comoros, and the islands of Mozambique and Kilwa and northwards to Zanzibar. These, it is thought, were planted by Arabs, who carried on a great trade with India, or arrived in consequence of Arab enterprise which required a supply of labour. From earliest historic times these places had been in close touch with the Sofala country, and possibly identical methods and operations were in pre-historic times employed on the gold area of Rhodesia. Such an hypothesis would explain the presence of rock mines and stone buildings, of the conical towers, phalli, "cup and ring" *linga*, the carved stone vulture birds on beams, and the lotus pattern.

Certainly, the evidences point to the skill in mining,

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building and relief as having been introduced into the country in their most perfected forms, that there was no gradual and natural evolution of culture on the part of the altogether unaided Bantu barbarian, but from the period of the introduction and display of such skill there was a rapid deterioration, and finally oblivion, for which the arrival of the Bantu hordes may well have been responsible.

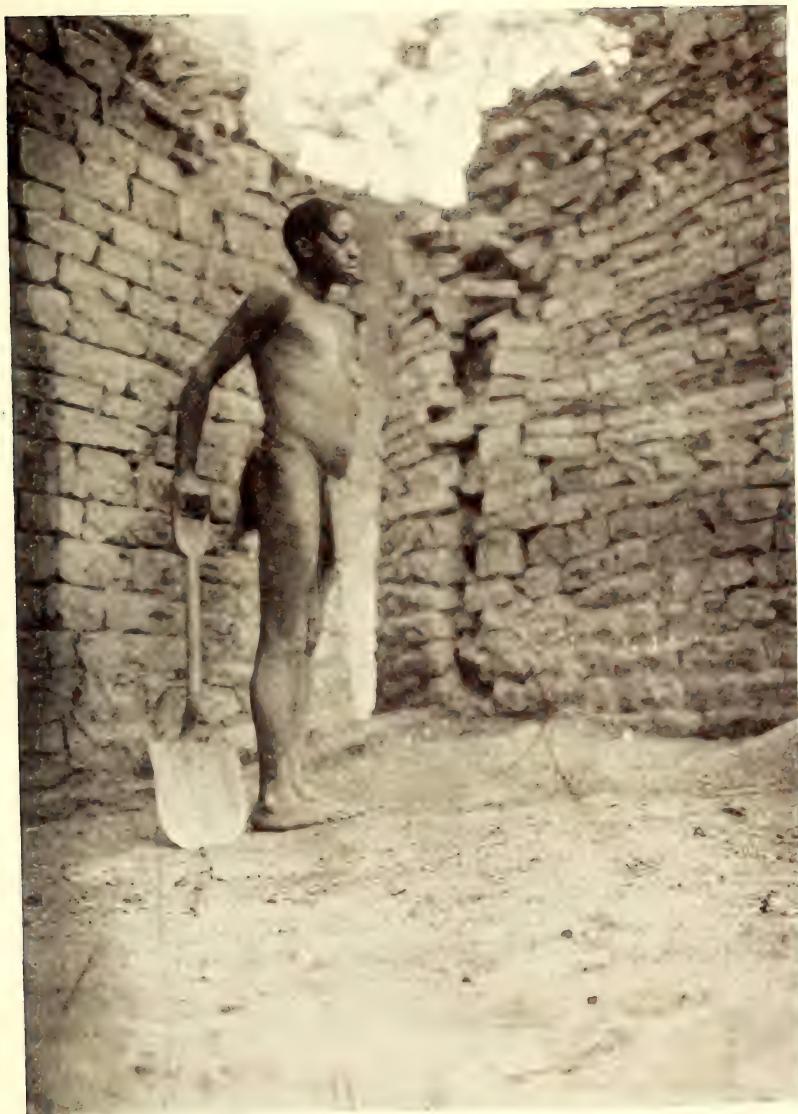
By such an absorption the Ma-Karanga may have acquired their Semitic features and pre-Koranic customs, and also certain other peculiarities which can only be explained by an Indian influence.

The establishment of such a powerful and extensive empire as that of the *monomotapas* — the greatest and longest-lived Bantu kingdom yet known to research—may have been the direct outcome of the absorption which by mixture with superior blood might have given them a superiority, power, and influence, such as they would not in ordinary circumstances have been able to acquire over so many other important tribes. According to the records of the sixteenth century the Ma-Karanga were conspicuous for possessing no warlike qualities, they being described as solely a pastoral and agricultural people, but always noted for their superior intelligence and skill in arts. Both records and modern works draw attention to the fact that the Ma-Karanga were and still are more intelligent than any other Bantu tribes, and far more so than any tribes along the east coast. It is considered by students of the Bantu that “the Empire of the Monomotapa” was but a resultant phase of the rock-mining operations.

Semitic Impressions on Ma-Karanga.

Mr. Bent, speaking of Ma-Karanga, observes: “Some of them are decidedly handsome, and not at all like negroes; many of them have a distinctly Arab cast of countenance. There is certainly a Semitic drop of blood in their veins, but it is marked both on their countenances and in their customs.”

Mr. Selous affirms that “the native races of Mashonaland at the present day belong to the Bantu family, who are



SEMITIC APPEARANCE OF A KARANGA, ZIMBABWE.

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SEMITIC IMPRESSIONS PRE-KORANIC

certainly not a pure race, though the negro blood predominates with them. The infusion of foreign blood, which undoubtedly runs in their veins, must have come from a lighter-skinned people, for I have noticed in all the tribes of Kafirs amongst whom I have travelled that good features, thin lips, and well-shaped heads are almost invariably correlated with a light-coloured skin."

Mr. Selous states, in *Travel and Adventure in South-east Africa*, his belief that in some remote past Arabians penetrated into Mashonaland, gained a footing and taught the aborigines to mine for them, and bringing few or no women with them, took a handsome allowance of wives from among the blacks. He considers that "for a long period intercourse was kept up with Arabia, and during this period the gold-seekers spread over the whole of South-eastern Africa from the Zambesi to the Limpopo, everywhere mixing with the people and teaching them their own rude arts of wall-building and gold-mining, and that as time went on and as they were small in numbers compared with the aborigine blacks, and as they had none of their own women with them, they gradually became completely fused and nationally lost amongst the aborigines."

Bantu authorities have very recently expressed their opinion that the Semitic impression noticeable in these people cannot possibly be accounted for by so late an intrusion as that of the Magadoxo Arabs of the eleventh century. This opinion has always been held since Livingstone first visited Zambesia. The customs also point to their origin in some pre-Koranic times. Chapman states that Livingstone was of opinion that the Semitic customs and features cannot be derived from Mohamedan times, but originated far earlier. Livingstone states (*Tributaries*, 501), "This form of face [Semitic] is very common in this country, and leads to the belief that the true type of the negro is not that met with on the west coast, from which most people have derived their ideas of the African." The Ma-Karanga have never been a sea-board people, and what impressions of a Semitic character they possess must have originated inland by an intrusion of Arab people of

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a very much earlier date than that of the Magadodoxo Arabs of the eleventh century.

Physically, the Ma-Karanga differ from the Zulu in most important features. The Ma-Karanga are noted for their well-shaped head with bell crown, arched and decidedly Jewish nose, thin lips, high and intelligent forehead, rounded jaws and chin, small pelvis bones and narrow hips, light skin, and refined features, the absence of the high cheek-bones being often noticed. In all these points the Ma-Karanga are altogether different to the Zulu.

The customs of the Ma-Karanga are exceedingly interesting, and many such are of a distinctly Semitic character. Among these may be noticed the following—

1. Monotheism, and no worship of idols.
2. Worship of, and sacrifices to, ancestors, always on the summits of certain venerated mountains.
3. Rite of circumcision, the taunt of non-circumcision being commonly employed among disputants.
4. Purification by water, and shaving of the head.
5. Ashes on the forehead a sign of mourning.
6. Transferring impurity or infection from individuals to some animal, which in some instances is slain and in others purposely lost on the veld.
7. Feasts of new moons, and invocations of new moons.
8. Feasts of full moons.
9. Offerings of First Fruits.
10. Defilement by touching the dead.
11. Defilement to eat flesh containing blood.
12. Abhorrence of swine as unclean.
13. Sprinkling the worshippers and afflicted with the blood of sacrificed animals.
14. Observance of a Sabbath, or day of rest, every five or seven days.
15. Sacrifices of oxen in times of trouble, such as drought or feared raidings.
16. Practice of divination.
17. Casting of lots to decide matters of doubt and dispute.

SEMITIC CUSTOMS PRE-KORANIC

18. Bestowal of new names on circumcision.¹
19. Killing of sorcerers and witches.
20. Recognition of the chiefs as priests, and chief "doctors" and rain-makers, who "take the place of a god and arrogate to themselves a form of address due to deity" (VII, 199, 295, 393). "The *monomotapa* is held in reverence by all the Kafirs, who think he gives them the sun" (II, 416). "They believe their kings go to heaven, and call upon them in time of need, as we on the saints" (I, 24).
21. King's Fire. "Every year, at a certain stage of the crops, a command was sent throughout the country that when the next new moon appeared all the fires were to be put out, and they could only be lit again from the spreading of one kindled by the *monomotapa* himself." There are several allusions to this practice in the Psalms. Travellers had described this practice before the discovery of the Portuguese records.
22. The giving of a personal article of a chief as a token of safe conduct and protection, as in the case of Esther.
23. Totemism or *Siboko*. Dances in honour of the tribal totem. Oaths given on the totem. The totem of Judah was the lion, and of Ephraim the bull.
24. Rigid morality with regard to all fleshly sins, adultery and fornication being punished prior to 1891, with outlawry or death.
25. Dynastic names for chiefs, as in all Semitic countries.
26. Reception of women by parties returning from hunting or war, as in the case of Jephthah.
27. Places of refuge for criminals or the unjudged. These are certain graves, also a certain enclosure in the chief's kraal, in some instances in the kraal of the chief's principal wife. Once at the place of refuge the victim was saved, also if he fled to the residence of an officer called the "Appeaser of the King's Anger."

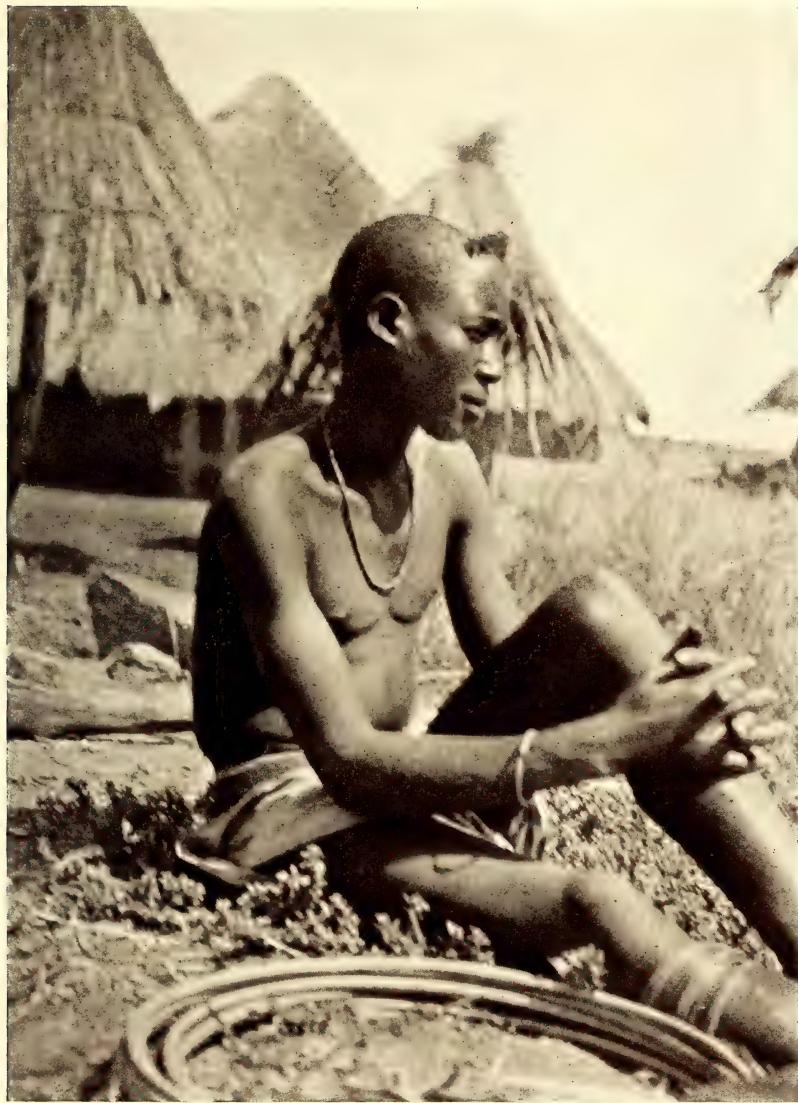
¹ "The custom of giving a new name on circumcision was not introduced by modern Arabs" (Livingstone's *Last Journals*, Vol. I, p. 81).

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28. Marriage only among themselves, not into the same sub-tribe, the rule to-day being that persons owning the same totem cannot marry.
29. Practice of espousal before marriage.
30. *Lobola*, or the payment of a certain value in cattle to the parents of the intended bride, or working for bride's father for a certain number of years, a practice known as "sitting."
31. Having a "Great" or chief wife, and also inferior wives—the latter being what Bilhah and Zilpah were to Jacob.
32. Sterile wife (a very rare occurrence), will procure a second partner to raise seed to her husband, just as Sarah gave Hagar to Abraham.
33. Brother succeeds to brother in office and property.
34. Brother takes to wife the wives of his deceased elder brother, and raising offspring they rank in office and in inheritance to property as if they were the children of the deceased.
35. A daughter does not inherit property or office except on the death of all her brothers.
36. "The children by concubines have no inheritance in the house and property of their father," 1560, VII, 307. This is so to-day.
37. *Doorah* or *Doro* (millet beer) has the same name as the millet beer made in Arabia and Syria (Bent), and is made in exactly the same manner, and by women only, and is used for the same purpose, *i.e.* obtaining labour.
38. Iron rods were the insignia of old Ma-Karanga chiefs, and it was illegal for any ordinary member of the tribe to own such an article. These iron sceptres have their parallel in Semitic countries, where gold was of more value than iron, and are mentioned in the Scriptures.

Language of the Ma-Karanga.

According to Father Dos Santos, the Ma-Karanga "speak a language called Mocaranga, which is the best and most polished of all the Kafir tongues that I have heard spoken throughout this Ethiopia, as it is the softest, their manner of speaking it is better. . . . the Mocaranga speak and



A KARANGA YOUTH, ZIMBABWE.

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LANGUAGE OF MA-KARANGA

enunciate their words with the point of the tongue, and with the lips in such a way that they pronounce many words almost whistling, which is very pleasing. . . . The most polished Mocaranga is used" by the Ma-Karanga of the kingdom of the Quiteve (VII, 289).

One point is made very clear both by the records of the sixteenth century and by the philologist, *i.e.* the Ma-Karanga have maintained their language practically intact and without appreciable alteration for at least six or seven centuries, and this in spite of contact with the Ba-Tonga (Botonga), Ba-Senga (Bosonga), who, according to the records, were associated in location in and near the "empire" of the *monomotapas*, and whose dialects in those days were, as shown in the vocabularies, more akin to the modern Zulu language than to Chicaranga, the language of the Karanga, having its parallel in the languages of the Nyassa country.

When the earliest British settlers entered the country it was generally thought that Chicaranga was but a dialect of Zulu, with which language the pioneers from the colonies were conversant. In consequence of this misconception the Chicaranga topographical nomenclature became largely Zulu-*ised* by the pioneers, and words of a derivation foreign to Chicaranga were imported into the maps of the country, which names, being wholly unknown to the natives, caused considerable inconvenience to both settlers and travellers. This defect is, however, now being remedied by students of Chicaranga, and the later maps show a general though not complete reversion to the correct and original Chicaranga nomenclature.

Chicaranga, which until the last few years was to Britishers an unknown tongue, is now admitted to be a completely different language to any of the Zulu varieties. Its vocabulary is distinct, as are also its prefixes and suffixes. There is an entire absence of the click sound and of hard letters. The language is essentially delicate and soft in tone, altogether dissimilar to the harsh and guttural dialects of Zulu. The pronunciation is full of rhythm of intonation and charm of expression which are rather fascinating

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to the European listener, especially as they are accompanied with ideally graceful and poetic gestures. Experts in Zulu dialects visiting Mashonaland are at once greatly struck by the distinct sounds of the two languages, and unhesitatingly give the palm to Chicaranga. Moreover, Chicaranga possesses an exceedingly extensive vocabulary, which permits of a wide range of expression, and it is very rich in idiomatic language. In many other respects, especially in its grammar, it is far superior to Zulu.

There is a decided affinity between the Chicaranga of the sixteenth century and the modern dialects of the Nyassa country.

Dr. F. Fulleborn¹ states that "the people of Nyassa Highlands are allied in race to the Ma-Karanga, they live in huts of the same design, these being often protected between granite tors as in Southern Rhodesia, they use similar patterned weapons, and show the same skill in smelting iron. But," he remarks, "we look in vain in the Nyassa country for any traces of stone building of the Zimbabwe type."

Then, as now, there is barely any relationship between Chicaranga and Zulu. Such few words mentioned by the writers which are Zulu were either derived from the Ba-Tonga of the coast, or from the Ba-Tonga of Inhambane and Limpopo districts, among whom some of the priests laboured before they went to Mokaranga, but they were not derived from the Ba-Tonga kingdoms of Manica, Baroe and Mongas, who evidently spoke mainly Chicaranga, while the topographical nomenclature of their districts was, and still remains, Chicaranga. Some very few of the native words mentioned as employed by the Ma-Karanga are Kisawahili, a few also being Congoese.

As already stated, the Chicaranga of 1505-1760 is identical with the Chicaranga of to-day. Allowance must be made for the old Portuguese methods of spelling Chicaranga words, for these varied according to the ideas of each writer. The records show that some of the Fathers

¹ *Das Deutsche Njassa-und Ruwuma Gebiet, Land und Leute, nebst Bemerkungen über de Schire-Lander*, 1896.

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were so long in the country that they acquired a very intimate knowledge of Chicaranga and of the local idiom, publishing printed *Catechisms* and a *Guide to the Holy Office* in that language.¹ It would have been impossible for such minute and marvellously accurate descriptions of the lives, customs, ideas and superstitions of the Ma-Karanga to have been given had not the Fathers acquired and systematically studied Chicaranga very closely.²

The following comparisons of the Chicaranga of 1505–

¹ Friar Francisco da Trinidade “compiled a *Catechism, an Exercise for Confession*, in the language of the natives [at Sena]” (I, 405). This would be in the Sena dialect of Chi-Karanga, of which Father Belloc has recently produced a most valuable dictionary. “He,” da Trinidade, “was also composing another *Catechism* in the language of the country [at Tete]” (I, 405). This would be in purer Chi-Karanga than the Sena dialect. The finest Karanga is to-day spoken in Mashonaland from Mo-Toko to N’Danga. Chi-Karanga has become modified at Sena and Mazoe by the influence of the neighbouring Ba-Tonga and Mongasi, which has been exerted for at least four hundred years. The Chi-Karanga of southern Matebeleland has also become modified by contact with the Bechuana language. The modifications caused by Ma-Kololo, Ma-Rotsi, Ba-Sutu, and Ma-Tebele are recent, as are the Shangaan influences south of the Rundi (Lundi) river and east of the Sabi river. The existing dialects of Chi-Karanga cannot be explained except with a knowledge of the conditions described in the records of 1505–1760.

² In all references to statements of fact by the old Portuguese writers of 1505 to 1760, it must not be forgotten that most of such writers were highly educated men who had taken university degrees, and who belonged to the nobility and highest classes in Portugal. Several of the writers are described as *presentado*, friars who had graduated in the universities, and that before they could take up duties in Mo-Caranga were further trained at Goa and also at Mozambique, and were required to serve a preliminary term among the Ba-Tonga. We read in the *History of the Order of St. Dominic* (1767) that subsequently many of these missionaries were elected to such offices as Provincials, Bishops, Vicar-Generals, and heads of Colleges in Portugal and India (I, 389, 390, and general), and were “all learned men” (VII, 342). Moreover, we read that the priests penetrated Mo-Caranga into the interior far beyond the limits set by the treaties with the *monomotapas* to traders, soldiers, and settlers, and that in times of native unrest they retreated and fell upon the fortified trading stations (I, 396), of which penetrations there exist to-day other evidences than those given in the records.

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1760 with that of the present day, and also with the Tebele variety of Zulu will suffice to show not only that the old Chicaranga remains practically unchanged, but that it differed widely from that of any Zulu variety. This list of words given in the records can be very considerably extended.

CHICARANGA 1505-1760.	STATED MEANING.	PRESENT CHICARANGA.	TEBELE (ZULU DIALECT).
Monganos.	A district with a chief.	Mugano = land with a defined boundary.	—
Magomo (<i>pl.</i>).	Mountains.	I-gomo (<i>sing.</i>) <i>Ma</i> (<i>pl. form</i>) = mountains.	In-taba.
M'pungwe.	Reeds.	M - p u n g w e = reeds.	I-buma.
Dombo.	Name of a mountain.	Dombo = a place of refuge among rocks or on hills.	I-ngaba.
Bandire.	A place below S. A. Central Plateau escarpment between Mocaranga and Quiteve.	Bandira = where they lie in wait for or watch.	Qapela.
Chipiriviri.	On Kebra-basa Rapids, Zam-besi.	Piripiri = a rocky bed of a rushing stream, ravine, or gorge.	U-doña Ematjeni.
Inhadiri.	Copper.	N'darira = copper.	I-tusi.
Quissanga.	Stream in mountain.	Kwizi = river, Sanga = a noisy stream.	Umfula, Umfudh-lama.
Beza.	A hill where sacrifices were offered to ancestors.	Beza = fire (created fire).	Um-lilo.
Biri.	A mining district.	Biri = a mine.	Um-lindi.
Nobiri.	A mine.	Biri = mine (<i>No</i> , locative).	Um-lindi.
Baroe.	A Batonga district adjoining Mocaranga.	Baro = makers or users of broad or large assegais.	Um-konto umkulu.
Inhacambe.	A wooded place.	Kamba = Mimosa (<i>Inya</i> , locative).	Um-kamanzi (Mimosa).

MEDIÆVAL & MODERN CHICARANGA

CHICARANGA 1505-1706.	STATED MEANING.	PRESENT CHICARANGA.	TEBELE (ZULU DIALECT).
Casungo.	River on Delta of Zambesi, disagreeable to navigate.	Sungo = stench (<i>Ka</i> , of).	U-hlofu.
Chipangura.	A mining district.	Mangura = iron mine (<i>Chip</i> , locative).	In-simbi(iron mine).
Moroy.	A sorcerer.	M'Royi=sorcerer.	Um-tagati.
Sazu.	Honey-bird.	I-tjezhu = honey-bird.	I-sehlo.
Bava.	Thief.	I-Babra = thief.	I-sela.
Ambira.	Musical instrument (Ma-Karranga piano).	M'Bira = Ma-Karranga piano.	[Dissimilar in Tebe and Zulu].
Minga.	A bird which flies like a swallow.	Minya=a martin.	U-konjane.
Cher.	Lord, chief.	She = a chief.	In-kosi.
Ru, Lu.	River.	Ru, Lu = river.	Umfuli.
Simbo.	A stick with a large knob.	I-swimbo = knob-kerri.	In-duku.
Musungos.	Lords, white men.	Mosungos=white men, strangers.	Ili-kiwa, Um-lungu.
Jew.	Lime, chalk.	I-suku = lime, chalk.	I-kalake.
Bocu.	Right hand.	B o k o = right hand.	Esogunene.
Rumo.	Left hand.	Rumohwe = left hand.	Esokohlo.
Muzuco, Muzuca.	Devil.		Umoya mubi.
Darama.	Gold.	Ndarama = gold.	Imali ebomvu.
Zere, R.	Celebrated for its floods.	Zera = to overflow.	Pupuma.
Lupata.	Gorge on Zam-besi.	Lu, Ru = river, Pata=a pass in hills.	Umfuli, U-kalu.
Mungova.	A wooded country.	Mungodo=a species of timber.	—
Muzimos.	"Departed kings."	M a - d z i m o = shades of the dead.	Ama-dhlozi.
Cherema.	A cripple.	T j i - R e m a = a cripple.	Kubadza=to injure.

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CHICARANGA 1505-1706.	STATED MEANING.	PRESENT CHICARANGA.	TEBELE (ZULU DIALECT.)
Andoro.	A round metal plate worn on the head, or shell worn on the breast.	Tjin-Doro = a button.	Isi-kopelo, Aman-tyia.
Lucere.	"Eighth day."	Tsere = eight.	Ficammembili.
Motengo.	A price.	I-nengo = a price.	In-tengo.
Boene.	Baboon.	Bvene = baboon.	In-dwañu.
Tebe.	A bog, or boggy.	Tevi = boggy.	Ama-xaposi, Ama-tete.
Lupangas.	A species of sword.	Ri-Panga = blade of a knife.	Um-konto.
Mafutes.	Guns.	I-pfuti = a gun.	Um-pobo.
Mutume.	Ambassador.	Mu-tumerwe = messenger.	Isi-tunywa, Isi-kitjimi.
Temani.	Valiant, courageous.	Tema = marks on skin of hips to denote bravery.	Lesibindi.
Nhemba.	"The snuffer."	I-nemba = snuff.	Foli igwai = to take snuff.
Funga.	To bind.	Sunga = to bind.	Tanda, Bopa.
Cochena.	White (<i>adj.</i>).	Tjena = white.	Mhlope.
Pemberar.	A war dance.	Pembera = a war dance.	Gida, Sina.
Zembe.	An ox.	N'Zombe = ox, Imvembe = a black ox with white spots.	In-kabi.
Mafura.	Oil for wounds.	Mafuta = castor oil.	Amacobo.
Revue.	An upper tributary of a river.	Refure = high (high among the high).	De.
Cabarbaça.	Kebra-basa Rapids.	= where labour is broken, the Zambezi is not navigable here, and portage is necessary.	—

Chicaranga compared with Tebele.

In order to show that the Chicaranga vocabulary is distinct from Zulu and its variants, the following hundred

DIVERGENCES FROM ZULU DIALECTS

words in most common every-day use among the Ma-Karanga may be taken and compared with their Tebele equivalents—

ENGLISH.	CHICARANGA.	TEBELE.
Afternoon, <i>n.</i>	Ma-deko.	In-tambana.
All.	Ose.	Onke.
Answer, <i>v.</i>	Shandura.	Pendula.
Ask for, <i>v.</i>	Kumbira.	Cela, Kulega.
Baboon.	I-gudu, Bvene.	In-dwañu.
Bad.	Ipa.	Bi.
Beautiful.	Naka.	Hle.
Black.	Dema, Nema, Tema.	Mnyama.
Blood.	Ma-ropa.	I-gazi.
Boy.	M-komana.	Um-fana.
Bring, <i>v.</i>	Isa, Buya na. . . .	Leta.
Carry, <i>v.</i>	Senga.	Twala.
Chief, <i>n.</i>	She.	Induna, In-kosi.
Cold, <i>adj.</i>	Netjando.	Lamakaza.
Dance.	Dzana, Tamba.	Gida, Sina.
Day.	I-zhuba, M-si.	I-langa, U-suku.
Dawn.	Edza.	Sa.
Dish.	N-diro.	Isi-ja.
Do, <i>v.</i>	Ita.	Enza.
Dog.	M-bha, M-boga.	In-ja.
Door.	I-goni.	Isi-valo.
Drink.	Mñwa.	Nata.
Dust.	I-huruba.	U-tuli.
Eye.	Ziso.	Ili-hlo.
Far.	Kuru, Refu.	Katjana.
Few.	Shomana.	Lutwana.
Fire.	M-oto.	Um-lilo.
Footpath.	N-zira.	I-ndhlela.
Garden.	Mu-nda.	In-simu.
Get away !	Bva panu ! Minga !	Muga ! Suga !
Girl.	I-mandara.	In-tombi.
Grind (corn), <i>v.</i>	Guriya (mapfunde).	Sila (amabele).
Gun.	I-pfuti.	Um-pobo.
Halt !	Mana !	Mira !
Hard, <i>adj.</i>	Gugutu.	Lukuni.
Hasten, <i>v.</i>	Tjimbidziga.	Kanleza, Pañisa.
Hatchet.	I-shanu.	I-hloga.
Head.	M-soro.	I-kanda.
High, <i>adj.</i>	Refu.	De.
Hill.	I-gomo.	In-taba.
Hoe.	I-badza.	I-kuba.
Hold, <i>v.</i>	Bata.	Baruba.

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ENGLISH.	CHICARANGA.	TEBELE.
Home.	Mu-sha, Zimba.	I-kaya.
Hundred.	I-zana.	Li-kulu.
Husband.	M-rumi.	In-doda.
Ill, to be, <i>v.</i>	Gwara.	Gula.
Iron.	I-dari.	In-simbi.
Lion.	I-mondoro, I-shumba.	Isi-lwana.
Little, <i>adj.</i>	Dukwana.	Ncinyane.
Log.	I-danda.	U-godo, U-kuni.
Luggage.	I-numbe.	Im-pahla.
Mat.	I-bonde.	I-canzi.
Milk (sour).	M-kaka.	Ama-si.
Money.	N-darama.	I-mali.
Morning.	Mangwana.	Gu-sasa.
Mother.	Mai wangu.	U-mama.
Move, <i>v.</i>	Bvisa.	Suza.
Much.	Gwazo.	Kalulu.
Name.	I-zita.	I-bizo.
Near.	Pedyu, Pafupi.	Eduze.
Nearly.	Kanga.	Posa.
News, <i>n.</i>	I-nawu.	In-daba.
No !	Gwete !	Atji (bo) !
Noon.	Masigati.	Imi-ni.
Not so !	Inema !	Amanga !
Ox.	In-kabi.	N-dume.
Pillow.	M-tsago.	Isi-camelo.
Pot.	M-rimo.	Im-biza.
Pour, <i>v.</i>	Dira.	Tela.
Pull, <i>v.</i>	Kakata.	I-bululu.
Quiet, to be, <i>v.</i>	Nyarara.	Tula.
Rain, <i>v.</i>	M-vura.	I-zulu.
Ready, to be, <i>v.</i>	Rurama.	Luña.
Really.	Gwazo.	Sibili.
Red.	Tsuku, Shaba.	Bomvu.
Rest, <i>v.</i>	Zorora.	Pumula.
Ring.	I-joti.	I-soño.
Sack.	I-homo.	Um-godhla.
Salt.	Mu-nyu.	It-jwai.
Seek.	Tsaga.	Diña.
Sheep.	I-hwai.	Im-vu.
Short.	Fupa.	Fitjane.
Sleep.	I-hope.	Ubu-toño.
Soil.	I-vu.	In-hlabati.
Son.	M-lisana.	Um-fana.
Speak, <i>v.</i>	Reba.	Kuluma.
Spill, <i>v.</i>	Tebura.	Cita.
String.	M-sungo.	In-tambo.
Strong.	Mamasimba.	Lamandhla

PLACE-NAMES, 1505-1760

ENGLISH.	CHICARANGA.	TEBELE.
Tobacco.	I-fodya.	I-gwai.
Tobacco-pipe.	Tji-nana.	In-giti.
To-day.	Nasi.	Lamuhla.
To-morrow.	Mangwana.	Umu-so.
Tree.	Mu-ti.	Isi-hlahla.
Visit, <i>v.</i>	Kumba.	Tegela.
Wall (of stone).	Ru-swingo.	Um-tañala.
Water.	M-vura.	Ama-nzi.
Where.	Ko, Koko.	Lapa, Lapo.
White.	Tjena.	Mhlope.
Work, <i>n.</i>	M-rimo.	Um-sebenzi.

Further Comparisons.

The Rev. E. Gottschling further shows¹ the difference between Chikaranga, Se-Sutu, Se-Tonga, and Se-Wenda—

ENGLISH.	CHIKARANGA.	SE-SUTU	SE-TONGA.	SE-WENDA.
Country.	Nyika.	Naxa.	Tiko.	Šango.
River.	Rgigi.	Noka.	Nambo.	Molambo.
To teach.	Ko dzidzisa.	Xo ruta.	Ko dzonda.	O funza.
The will.	Kuta.	Thato.	Rerando.	Lofuno.
Fog.	Mote.	Mouane.	Ntsuvi.	Khuli.
Clouds.	Goti.	Maru.	Mapapa.	Makole.
Time.	Tšenambo.	Lebaka.	Nkari.	Tšefinga.
Blood.	Ropa.	Madi.	Ngadi.	Malofa.
Father.	Bambo.	Tata.	Tatana.	Khotsi.
Stone.	Bge.	Lefzika.	Ribye.	Tombo.
The axe.	Sano.	Selepe.	Seloka.	Mbado.
The door.	Gone.	Lemati.	Rewandi.	Woti.
Above.	Kumsoro.	Godimo.	Henla.	Tadolo.
The sun.	Zoba.	Letšatši.	Dzambo.	Dova.
Water.	Mwura.	Meetsi.	Madi.	Madi.

Topographical Nomenclature, 1505-1760.

The topographical nomenclature given in the records of the sixteenth century of Mocaranga and the neighbouring kingdoms is overwhelmingly Chicaranga, and very many of the names survive to this day and are to be found on modern maps.

¹ *Journal Anthropol.*, Inst., Vol. XXV, p. 385.

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SIXTEENTH CENTURY NAMES.	MODERN NAMES.	SIXTEENTH CENTURY NAMES.	MODERN NAMES.	
<i>Mountains.</i>			<i>Districts (continued).</i>	
Fura.	Refure.	Bangoe.	Bango.	
Gembí.	Ujembí.	Baroe.	Baroe.	
Inyanga.	Inyanga.	Biri.	Biri.	
Lupata.	Lupata.	Boessa.	Beza.	
Morambala.	Morumbula.	Bororo.	Bororo.	
<i>Rivers.</i>			<i>Chicova.</i>	
Aruenha.	Ruenia.	Chidima.	Shidima.	
Bangoe.	Pungwe.	Inhamior.	Inhameai.	
Bazi.	Buzi.	Chigue.	Chigue.	
Cabreza.	Cabresi.	Manika.	Manica.	
Chiri.	Shire.	Noya.	Noia.	
Inhadiri.	'Nyadiri.	Otongue.	Otongwe, Tonga.	
Kwa-kwa.	Kwa-kwa.	Quiteve.	Quiteve.	
Kwizungo.	Quizungo.	Tebe.	Tevi.	
Manzovo.	Mazoe.	<i>Other places.</i>		
Massapa.	Rusapa.	Ambare.	Dambarare.	
Moosengueze.	M'Zingesi.	Bumba.	Vumba.	
Muchangaze.	Missangaji.	Cabarbaça.	Kebra-basa.	
Mufa.	Mufa.	Chipafa.	Chipafa.	
Ruvoe.	Revue [Refu].	Chipanga.	Shipanga.	
Saba.	Sabi.	Chipiriviri.	Chipiriziva.	
Tendanculo.	Tendaculo.	Chipiry.	Chipiri.	
Tovas.	Towa.	Chirara.	Chiروا.	
Urema.	Urema.	Chirao.	Chirayo, or Chiria.	
Urvy.	Ruy.	Gobiri.	Geuveira.	
Zambesi.	Zambesi.	Inhapande.	Nyarupande.	
<i>Dynasties.</i>			Umliwani.	
Chitoro.	Chitora.	Mambone.	Mambone.	
Macone.	Makoni.	Rufumba.	Rufumba.	
Mocumba.	Mokumbi.	Sena.	Sena.	
<i>Districts.</i>			Tambara.	
Abutwa.	Butwa.	Tete.	Tete.	
Bandar.	Bandar.	Zumbo.	Zumbo.	
Bandire.	Bandire.			

Ma-Karanga not Idolatrous.

The records contain emphatic statements that the Ma-Karanga were not an idolatrous people. This information is given by the Dominican missionaries who laboured among them. Father Dos Santos spent eleven years in the country. He was in the heart of the *monomotapa's* kingdom, and baptised chiefs and hundreds of their subjects.

MA-KARANGA NOT IDOLATROUS

Father Silveira, the protomartyr of South Africa, baptised the *monomotapa*, his wives, and leading men, the Father being shortly afterwards murdered at the N'pande *zimbaoe* which was situated in the Beza-Chidima district, four hundred miles inland from the coast. Father Monclaros went inland for two hundred and fifty miles from Sofala, and visited the kingdoms of Quiteve, Manica, Baroe and Mongazi.

"They adore no God, and have neither idols or images" (Dos Santos, VII, 199).

"None of them have any kind of idol or form of worship resembling idolatry" (Silveira, II, 93).

"They do not make or worship idols" (Monclaros, III, 129).

"They have no religion nor idols, but acknowledge only one God, and believe that there is a devil, that he is wicked, and they call him *Muzuco* (Sousa, I, 24).

They are "without law or idols, and they adore nothing whatever" (Bocarro, III, 358).

"They adore no idols or anything else" (De Barros, VI, 269).

"They are little inclined for divine worship" (De Rezende, II, 404).

Sousa, the historian, is the only writer to make the statement that the Ma-Karanga acknowledged "only one God." He never visited the country. His assertion is directly contradicted by all the local writers, who declare that these people knew nothing whatever about a God. The letters of the Dominican and Jesuit missionaries constitute the most valuable portion of the records, and all are opposed to such a suggestion. Bantu authorities of the present day contend that the present natives' idea of God is solely derived from the teachings of Arabs and Europeans, and that it is most probable that the natives of the Portuguese period were without any idea of the Supreme Being.¹

¹ "The religion of the Kafirs is a blend of a decadent totemism, an elementary type of ancestor worship, and an all-pervading fetishism. No idols of any sort are worshipped; while the belief in a Supreme Being, to say the least, is vague and uncertain" (Dudley Kidd, *Kafir Socialism*, p. 27).

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Ma-Karanga not Cannibals.

The records show that the Ma-Karanga were not cannibals. The present Ma-Karanga state that cannibalism was, at some time beyond their recollection, a feature of certain tribes with which they had formerly been in contact. They use the epithet "cannibal" to denote their abhorrence of any particular tribe, though such may not be cannibals (see *ante*, Chapter V, p. 137).

Characteristics of Ma-Karanga.

Many of the descriptions given of these people in the records are ideally those which might be written of them to-day. In fact, their characteristics remain identically the same at the present time as they were almost five hundred years ago. Allowance, however, must be made for the fact that since 1760, when the records closed, the Ma-Karanga as a nation has been completely broken up, and their *esprit de corps* destroyed by a succession of Zulu tribes—for instance, by the Ba-Rosie, Angoni and Matabele, who in turn subjected them to slavery and serfdom.

"They are a noble race, and respected among the Kafirs" (III, 482).

"They are more intelligent than the natives towards Mozambique, Kilwa, and Melinde" (VI, 269). This feature is also recognised by all modern writers.

The Ma-Karanga of Otongue, a kingdom lying inland from Inhambane and Cape Correntes, are said to have been of "a goodly presence, and all of good condition and great stature . . . some are handsome" (II, 74, 76). Of the Ma-Karanga of Mocaranga it is said they were "men of great stature"¹ (V, 362); "they are handsome men,

¹ The straight shoulders and upright forms of the South African natives are always noticed by travellers. These may be accounted for by their crawling habits when young. It is a common sight to see infants crawling on their hands and knees about the villages at an age when European children are still in arms. The low creep-hole doors of huts and the habit of lying extended on their face, their arms supporting their heads, would further account for these features. It



A KARANGA YOUTH.

To face p. 414.]

CHARACTERISTICS OF MA-KARANGA

especially the Ma-Karanga who dwell in the lands of Quiteve [the immediate hinterland of Sofala]" (Dos Santos, VII).

"They are very strong, light and agile" (II, 141); and are "not a very black colour" (VII, 251). The lightness of skin of the Ma-Karanga is also mentioned by all modern writers.

"The Mocarangas are more opined than any other Kafirs whatever" (II, 419); "they are very proud, and each one seems a king of the woods" (II, 141).

"They are cheerful and of pleasant countenance, good-natured, and well-disposed" (VII, 252). The irrepressible mirth of these people, even in most distressing circumstances, is still a very noticeable feature. Massoude [915 A.D.], writing of the Zeng (Bantu) of the coast, speaks of their "vivacity" and "the mastery which joy acquires over them" [light-heartedness], which "distinguishes the Zeng from all other black races," adding "joyousness is the privilege of the people of Zeng." Dos Santos writes, "The Kafirs are not fond of work, and are more given to dancing and feasting than to husbandry." The records show that the women did all the work of the plantations, as "the men roam about, converse with each other, fish, hunt and live merrily" (VII, 306), therefore "the Kafirs are careful to choose laborious wives" (VII, 208). "They [the Ma-Karanga] are all indolent and lovers of idleness, therefore they are poor, their favourite exercise being hunting wild animals" (*ibid.*).

"They are very credulous, variable, and inconsistent" (III, 229). Their superstitions, myths, charms, methods of divination, and witch-doctoring practices are exactly the same to-day as described in the records.

is, moreover, considered very unlucky to sleep with the knees up. Children are severely punished if they lie or sleep with their legs doubled up. Of course, the men for countless generations have never carried weights, this being entirely the work of the women. Herodotus refers to the upright figures and remarkably long legs of the Zeng of East Africa. These are the universal and outstanding features of the natives of to-day.

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"They are very fond of it [native beer], and one of them will drink more than three Germans" (Father Fernandes, 1562, II, 142).

According to Fernandes the Ma-Karanga were infinitely a more polite and obliging people than those of any of the Zulu tribes. This is also a feature very noticeable to-day.

Several letters of the Dominicans show that in their sexual relationships the Ma-Karanga were a moral people. The present Ma-Karanga punished such offences by death and outlawry.

Sousa (I, 34) speaks of the Ma-Karanga of the coast south of Correntes as being "notable thieves." De Couto (II, 202), writing of the same people, describes them as "great thieves." Sousa evidently copied from De Couto. The incidents referred to relate to wrecks on the coast, in which the shipwrecked Portuguese did not treat the natives at all considerately, and, in their distressed circumstances, not in any way diplomatically. Moreover, De Couto's account was written very long after the event and is only based on hearsay.

But, at any rate, the records show the Ma-Karanga of the inland territories were surprisingly honest. Thieves were "cruelly punished." De Couto had experiences of South-east Africa. In his *Extractos da Asia* he writes, "Those [Portuguese] who wished to do so [go inland to trade] go themselves, others send their Kafirs, and they are so faithful that up to the present no one was ever known to be guilty of any dishonesty, or to remain there with his master's property" (VI, 368). To-day, it is notorious that the "green" native is absolutely honest, and can be readily trusted with valuables, but the "educated" native steals on every possible opportunity. Mr. Bent but reflects the opinion of many when he states, "in their primitive state the Ma-Karanga are naturally honest."

Ma-Karanga Ancestor Worship.

(See Chapter V, p. 127.)

INDUSTRIAL PURSUITS

Traditions of Ma-Karanga.

(See Chapter V.)

Industrial Pursuits.

The records state that the Ma-Karanga, unlike the Ba-Tonga of Manica, Baroe, and Mongas, were "not warlike" (I, 24). This is their great feature to-day. The records describe them as being pre-eminently an agricultural and pastoral people. The Ma-Karanga of Abutwa were "much occupied with the breeding of cattle" (VII, 274). Even at Masapa, "where there are rich mines," cows were worth more than gold (II, 120). Their main internal currency was, as to-day, their cattle. Plantation mattocks were also used as currency, for De Rezende states, "they make hoes, which are used in exchange like small money" (II, 411). Iron garden hoes were generally used as currency up to the last few years, and in some districts they are still so used. Some Portuguese writers stated that the royal insignia of the *monomotapa* was an agricultural hoe, "as a sign that he is a cultivator of the land." "The only tribute paid to their kings by the natives was to weed, dig, sow, and gather the crops reserved in their village for the king. This is the only tribute they pay to the king, and nothing further" (VII, 222). The women at that period, as to-day, did all the plantation work.

The records make no reference as to the appearance of the women. Probably, because the women performing all the work in the gardens, carrying the water, grain, fire-wood and other weights, and also being married at an early age, were, as to-day, stunted and bandy-legged. This was most probably the case five hundred years ago, as, according to the records, exactly the same conditions prevailed then as at the present time.

There is no reference in the records to the natives having led water for irrigation purposes, or that they knew anything of the purpose of the aqueducts of the Inyanga district. Dr. Livingstone (*Tributaries*, p. 154) stated the natives have never attempted to lead water. No instance

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is known of any Bantu people, past or present, using conduits for irrigation purposes. The presence of the aqueducts at Inyanga has always been considered the result of Zaide or of Magadoxo Arab influence, no such conduits being found elsewhere in the country, and the evidences point to the system of irrigation having been introduced by Arab people who were skilled in such work.

The Ma-Karanga of 1505-1760 were evidently not arboriculturists. Bantu students are satisfied that there is no evidence that any Bantu were such, and cite instances from several parts of the sub-continent, and from various tribes, that even the planting of fruit-stones was considered unlucky. Instances are known of absolute refusal by native employés to plant such stones, as natives actually fear sickness or death as a consequence. Most of the fruits, vine, *mahobohobo*, fig, lemons, oranges, olives, found growing perfectly wild over the mines are non-indigenous, many fruits and plants being of Indian origin. The *Tonje cadja* cotton is indigenous and is found wild, but *Tonje manga* is non-indigenous and is of Indian origin. It was once cultivated, but is now only found growing wild in no great quantity on the edges of streams on the ruins' area only.

The Ma-Karanga were also essentially a hunting race, and we find in the records accounts of hunting and killing enormous numbers of elephants and antelopes. All the writers, Arab and Portuguese, state that though the natives hunted the elephant they did not utilise the ivory, but employed it as an article of barter only. The descriptions of the fauna of the country given in the records are full, and in most instances decidedly accurate.

Weaving of cotton cloth was mentioned as a general industry in the very early records, but the later writers are altogether silent concerning it. Probably the article imported by the Portuguese destroyed the local industry. Certainly the introduction of the cheap ready-made cloth obtainable at the stores has destroyed any modern industry, for the art of weaving has become lost so far

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as Southern Zambesi is concerned, this industry being found to be carried on very rarely and only in remote districts.

The smelting and working of iron and copper is also stated to have been an industry, but it is considered as most improbable that iron working was ever so general or carried to such perfection by the Ma-Karanga as among certain other Bantu tribes, who from the earliest times have always been famous for working in iron. Further, it is quite possible that, as is the case with other tribes, the industry was confined to certain kraals, often very far apart, which had a reputation of supplying the assegai and arrow heads and plantation hoes, the making of which implements, together with the penannular rings worn as ornaments for the arms and legs, being the only purposes of such industry. The strong disinclination on the part of the Ma-Karanga to mine for metals, as shown in the records, was just as manifest in the case of iron and copper as it was in the case of washing soil for gold dust. However, the local evidences show that during the Portuguese period and subsequently, the Ma-Karanga, and later the Ba-Rosie, worked on outcrops only, as to-day—that is, by extracting the “vein stones” and “eyes” from outcrops of reefs, in the same way as can be seen in the Wedza district, where Ma-Karanga have followed along the exposed line of outcrops for miles, taking only the “vein stones” of copper and iron ores without any sinking. This nibbling of outcrops was a very common native practice not so very long ago.

No Bantu people have ever been known to weld metals. They most frequently work them when almost cold. The Ba-Rosie, who, it is thought, have not been in Mashonaland more than 150 years, are iron-workers, and these are known to have supplied the Ma-Karanga with what iron-work they required; thus the industry was continued in the country after its general cessation among the Ma-Karanga. The records contain surprisingly few references to natives working iron, and iron-smelting furnaces are mentioned as rarities.

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The subject of Ma-Karanga and gold-washing operations as described in the records, is dealt with in Chapter II, NATIVES AND MINES, p. 29; SCARCITY OF GOLD ORNAMENTS OF NATIVES, p. 35; and also in Chapter III, PRESENT BANTU NOT THE ORIGINAL ROCK MINERS, p. 82.

TOPOGRAPHICAL

CHAPTER XV

GAZETTEER OF SOUTH-EAST AFRICA, INCLUDING THE COUNTRIES OF THE MONOMOTAPA, MANICA, SABIA, QUITEVE, SOFALA AND MOZAMBIQUE.¹

Rhodesia, 915-1760.

BEFORE the newly-discovered Portuguese records of South-eastern Africa were published by Dr. G. M. Theal, Mr. Rhodes distributed type-written copies of such portions as when examined locally might assist in fixing the topographical features, especially in locating the mining areas referred to in the records. These were very closely studied by those best qualified to trace such features, attention being at the same time particularly paid to possible references to the location of Great Zimbabwe. Since that time further investigations have been made by the best experts in Chicaranga, and with the exception of some places of small importance mentioned in the records, there has been a consensus of opinion as to the correct location of the places named by the early writers. The various Catholic missionaries stationed in Southern Rhodesia have also very closely examined the records to locate the positions of events connected with the history of their co-religionists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The following gazetteer is far from being complete, and is only intended as a guide for those making a study of the records. Much available matter has not been included owing to the space limit allowed in this volume. The author is still engaged in the work, locating additional places referred to in the records.

¹ Rights reserved.

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The distances stated in the records are not at all reliable. Almost two hundred measurements are given between places which can be fixed, and of which the geographical mileage can be ascertained. These show that the league employed by the Portuguese writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries works out on the average to slightly over three English geographical miles. The larger Portuguese league of four miles to the English mile was not used in South-east Africa, though it was employed at the same time in the Brazils. It may be safe to consider that the league adopted in South-east Africa is the smaller measure of twenty (not fifteen) to the degree, three English geographical miles. The estimates of distances given by the earliest writers are very generally approximate only, those of the seventeenth century being more exact, but still approximate. All modern Portuguese writers agree in stating, "As distancias que mencionâmos são approximades." This subject is dealt with in De Lima's works, in Da Trindade's *Monographia do Territorio de Manica e Sofala*, and in several articles which have appeared in the *Boletim Da Sociedade de Geographia de Lisbon*.

Nor can the distances be better ascertained by noting the days required for any journey, for the time occupied varied considerably. Thus we find expressions, "as you travel with goods (with porters)," "hurried travelling," "as the natives travel," "as we travel in Portugal," "we travelled four or five hours a day according to the caprice of the Kafirs (porters)." Moreover, the new-comers had to find their own way about the country, and in addition to following winding rivers, must have been obliged to make circuitous journeys to round the ends of mountain ranges. Thus we read, "They journeyed about one hundred leagues, and because of the deviations they made to pass over the rivers the distance they covered was not thirty leagues" (I, 137), and again, "We had penetrated the country ten or twelve leagues in a straight line, but about twenty-five leagues by having shaped our course like a bow" (III, 245). Lacerda's average daily travel from Tete to Cazembe was two and a half Portuguese leagues (*Cazembe*, p. 105). Their maps,

RHODESIA, 915-1760

too, were very meagre and unreliable. Father Silveira (II, 94) says great difficulty was caused, "owing to the confusion of the Portuguese maps."

Table of Inland Distances.

FROM.	TO.	LEAGUES.	REFERENCES.
Bocuto	Luanze	13	III, 354; IV, 72, 73.
"	Tete	40	III, 354; IV, 72, 73.
Chicaronga	"	10	VI, 403.
Chicova	Coast	180	IV, 155, 160.
"	Motoposso Mtns.	10	III, 414.
"	Inhacassy	1	III, 414.
"	Beza	20	III, 414.
"	Tete (by river)	24	III, 403.
"	" (by path)	40	III, 420.
Chipiry	Chipiriziva	" 2 or 3 "	III, 402.
Chupanga	Coast	30	II, 407, 420; VII, 253.
Dambarare	"	220	II, 438.
Inhambane	Chief kraal in O tongue	30	II, 85.
Luanze	Tete	35	IV, 72, 73; III, 354.
"	"	40	II, 416.
"	Bocuto	13	III, 354; IV, 72, 73.
"	Coast	100	II, 438.
Lupata Gorge	Sena	30	III, 238, 474.
"	Tete	30	III, 474.
"	Coast	90	I, 24; VII, 262.
Manica	Coast	100	VII, 275.
"	Sofala	100	VII, 185.
"	Sena	"7 or 9 days' journey"	III, 487.
Masapa	Tete	50	III, 354.
"	Sena	150	III, 236.
"	Manzovo (Mazoe) River	4	III, 354.
Quilimane River Bar	Fort	3	III, 469.
Quilimane	Sena	60	II, 409, 437; III, 472.
		"7 days' journey" up-stream	
Rundo on Shiré R.	Zambesi River	60	III, 475.
Sena	Coast	60	I, 394; III, 223; VII, 254.
"	Quilimane	60	III, 472.

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FROM.	TO.	LEAGUES.	REFERENCES.
Sena	Sofala	"80 or 90"	III, 479.
"	Chiri (Shiré) R.	10	VII, 268.
"	Tete	60	I, 391; II, 413; III, 420; VII, 268.
"	Manica	60	II, 411; III, 487.
		"7 or 9 days"	
"	Masapa	150	III, 236.
"	Inhangoma, Island on Zambezi	2	III, 223.
"	Inhamior	1	II, 118.
"	Aruenya River	50	II, 410.
"	Morumbala Mtns.	"7 or 8"	VII, 268.
"	Lupata Gorge	30	III, 476.
		by river	
"	" "	50	III, 238.
		by land	
Sofala	Manica	100	VII, 185.
"	Sena	90 (?)	III, 479.
"	Cuama (Luabo) River (by road)	30	VII, 354, 356.
		"18 days"	
Tete	Bocuto	40	III, 354; IV, 72, 73.
"	Coast	120	I, 23; III, 226; VII, 268.
"	Cachengue	20	III, 402.
"	Chicaronga	10	VI, 403.
"	Chicova (by river)	24	III, 403.
"	" (by path)	40	III, 420.
"	Lupata Gorge	30	III, 474.
"	Luanze	35	III, 354; IV, 72, 73.
"	"	40	II, 416.
"	Masapa	50	III, 354.
"	Manzovo (Mazoe) River	5	III, 354
"	Sena	60	I, 391; II, 413; III, 420; VII, 359.

Over one hundred distances mentioned in the records refer to places the position of which cannot, at present, be definitely fixed.

Coastal distances are not included in this Gazetteer.

Other Distances.

Bazi (Buzi) River, and its tributary, the Ruvoe (Revue) River are together one hundred leagues in length, VII, 185.

ANCIENT AND MEDIAEVAL MAPS

Cabarbaça (Kebra-basa Rapids), length of, "from Sacumbe to Chicova, twenty leagues," VII, 254.

Lupata Gorge, length of, "five or six leagues," VI, 263.

Lupata Mountains, width of, "four or five leagues," VII 263.

Quilimane River, tidal for "ten leagues," III, 469.

Zambesi River, navigable for "ninety leagues," I, 22.

Zambesi River, extent of exploration of, by Portuguese, "three hundred leagues," Bocarro, III, 353.

Ancient and Mediæval Maps of South-east Africa Consulted.

Maps according to Ptolemy, Periplus, Massonde, Edrisi, etc. (*Partition of Africa*, Dr. Scott Keltie).

Indian map of East and South-east Africa, "from the Pürans of the ancient Hindūs," given in *Asiatic Researches* (III, of A.D. 1801), and produced by Captain Speke in *Journal of the Discovery of the Sources of the Nile*.

1610. *Nova Africæ tabula*, auctore Jodœo Hondio. Coloured by hand. Amsterdam.

1640. *Carte de l'Afrique*, corrigée et augmentée, dessus toutes les autres ey deuant faictes par P. Bertius.

1676. *Nouvelle carte de l'Afrique* donnée au public par Pierre Vander, à Liede. (In Dapper's *Africa*.)

1700-20. Maps of Africa, Southern Africa, African Isles, Nubia and Abyssinia, Barbary, and Upper Guinea; published by Emmanuel Bowen.

1660-70. *Novissima et perfectissima Africæ descriptio* authore J. Dankerts.

1700. *L'Afrique* par G. de L'Isle.

1708. *Carte du Congo et du Pays des Cafres*, par G. de L'Isle.

1749. *Afrique* par Le Sr. d'Anville, grave par G. Delahaye, 2 shetts.

Also the valuable collection of mediæval maps of South-east Africa, French, Portuguese, Dutch, and English, scheduled by Dr. G. M. Theal in his notes on *The Records of South-east Africa*.

Maps illustrating the topography of the mediæval possessions of the Portuguese in South-east Africa, *Boletim*

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Da Sociedade de Geographia de Lisbon; Da Trinidade's Monographia do Territorio de Manica e Sofala; De Lima's Possessões Portuguesas (1859).

Extent of "Conquest," 1505-1760.

"In this great conquest His Majesty only possesses a triangle, whose side on the north-east is formed by the current of the Zambesi, which comes up from Quilimane to the north-west for one hundred and twenty-six leagues, until it reaches Chicova, six leagues above Tete. The southern side is formed by an imaginary line drawn from Chicova to the port of Sofala, and this side will be about one hundred and forty leagues. The third side, or as it were the base of this pyramid, is formed by the sea-coast, which runs from Quilimane to Sofala for the space of sixty leagues" (*Manoel Barreto, December 11, 1667. Report upon the State and Conquest of the Rivers of Cuama, commonly and truly called the Rivers of Gold*)—III, 463-508.

Gazetteer.

Abutua Butua, a vassal kingdom of Mocaranga lying on the west and north-west of Mocaranga, and was thought by the Portuguese to extend on its western side to Angola, with which country the natives of Abutua were reported as trading. The king was also called Butua. Gold was found there, but the natives did not dig for it, preferring to breed cattle, also because they "are at a distance from the Portuguese," III; 356, 487, VII, 274. On Livingstone's map Abutua is the northern portion of Matabeleland, also on modern maps, some placing it in Mafungabusi, though its extent must once have been considerably greater. On the Italian map of 1623 Butua is marked in the same relative position. A town of Butua is also shown on this map as being in Butua. Abutua means "Bushmen's Country," but there is no reference to Bushmen in the records. In this part of the country, and even farther east, very many Bushmen paintings have been found on the open veld and in most

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accessible places, but Dr. Theal, and other authorities on the Bantu, consider the Bushmen must have been driven out from this part of the country very long before the arrival of the Portuguese. The records show clearly that the Portuguese [1505-1760] never penetrated into this country. Abutua and Butua are frequently written Abutwa and Butwa. See *Toróa, Toro*.

Ambarare, a fort and market in Mocaranga, near gold mines, II, 417. This is most probably Dambarare, similarly described. See *Dambarare*. C. *Ambarara*=sand.

Ambuya, sub-district of Mocaranga in the kingdom of the *monomotapa*. No location stated, but by context must have been in the Chidima district. Chief was Choe, who was steward at the court of the *monomotapa* at Masapa, III, 356, 357. It was most probably the ex-Queen's kraal and district (C. *Ambuya* = mother-in-law). See *Choe*.

Ampane, kraal three leagues from Tete, on south side of Zambesi, on the road from Tete to Chicova. Between Tete and Bunga, and on east side of Mufa River, which river is shown on modern maps. Probably in Chambo's lands, III, 396, 432.

Angosha Group are off and near Angosha River; consists of seven islands: Mafamebe, Inhatimbe, Macute, Caldeira [Arvore], Fogo, Mocolongo, Arvores. The northernmost of the islands is thirty leagues south of Mozambique, II, 424; VII, 347, etc.; also written Angoxa, Angoya. On modern maps. See also *Angosha River*.

Angosha River, on mainland opposite Angosha Islands, III, 148; also called Angoya. On modern maps as Angoxa River. See *Angosha Group*.

Angoxa. See *Angosha*.

Angoya. See *Angosha*.

Antauara, district in Mocaranga of which Chicuma was chief, III, 356. No location stated, but context suggests near Chicova in Chidima.

Antevara, kraal "shaded with many fig-trees," between Bunga and Dorsa, on south side of Zambesi, on the road from Tete to Chicóva. Reached on third day's journey from Tete to Chicova, III, 396.

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Bandar, where the Zambesi narrows above Sena [at east end of Lupata Gorge], III, 387, 388. On modern maps Bandar is on the north bank of Zambesi just below Lupata Gorge.

Bandire, a district in Quiteve producing "fine gold"; an "annual fair" was established in Bandire, but was very shortly afterwards abandoned, and not reopened because of "civil wars" in Quiteve, VII, 378, 380, 381. It was on the main route from Sofala to Masapa, the capital of the *monomotapas*. On modern maps Bandire is shown as a district lying between the Revue and the mountainous escarpment of the central plateau, at thirty or thirty-five miles south of New Massi-Kessi, and on the headwaters of the Masapa River. C. *Bandire* = *where they lie in wait for or watch*.

Bangoe, settlement and lands on coast near the mouth of the Bangoe [Pungwe] River, and on north side in the present position of Beira; opposite Massique [Massique Point], in the jurisdiction of Sena, VII, 373, 374, 375. Mentioned by Linschoten in 1596 as Porto Bango, VIII, 416, 417. See *Bangoe River*.

Bangoe [Pungwe], river, seven leagues north of Sofala; the Urema a large tributary on the left bank of the Bangoe; on an island not far from mouth and up river "very fine timber" was cut (1588); Bangoe river was approached from Sofala along the coast by boats; it flows into the sea north of "the point of Massique"; lands called Bangoe were near coast at the mouth of the river and on the north side, also a settlement of Porto Bangoe (1596) at the present site of Beira, VII, 349, 373, 374, 375. See *Urema*, *Bangoe (Lands of)*, *Porto Bangoe*, *Massique*.

Baroe, vassal kingdom of Mocaranga, extended eastwards from Mongas, south of the Zambesi, to the east of Sena, adjoined the north of Manica, Quissanga and part of Quiteve. Its people were Ba-Tonga, and Baroe was sometimes mentioned as Ba-Tonga, III, 487, 488 and general. It is on all modern maps as Barue(i), and is shown in the same position. The lands of Maungo, chief Macone, formed part of Baroe and adjoined the north of

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Manica, II, 439; III, 355, 487. See *Maungo*. C. *Baro-makers or users of broad or large assegais*.

Batonga, see *Otongue*.

Bazaruta, islands, "opposite the point called San Sebastian," II, 202; about opposite Fubaxe, II, 219; "eight leagues more or less to the south of Sofala," and has a good harbour, IV, 95. See *Fubaxe*.

Bazi [Buzi] River, "River of Sofala," "rises in the mountains of Quissanga," crosses the country of the Quiteve, and flows into the sea between Chironda and Massique. It is only navigable for three days' journey from coast owing to a rock stretching across the river from side to side, and which has "an arch through which the water passes," this rock being at a place called Inmaliamue [Umliwani, Inaromirua]. This rock is marked on modern maps. The lower river is subject to great floods. "In the rainy season the Bazi overflows its banks, and inundates all the surrounding country." Also called Zero. Chirara [Chiroa] is a port on the south side at the mouth of the river, VII, 373, 374, etc. The records contain many references to this river, and to its tributary the Ruvoe [Revue], the name of Bazi being often given to the Ruvoe, and *vice versa*. C. *Zero=to overflow*. The principal tributaries of the Bazi are, Ruvoe, Massapa [Rusapa, Musapa], Tovas [Towa], Missangaji [Muchangaze]. See *Ruvoe, Masapa, Missangaji, Chirara, Inmaliamue, "River of Sofala."*

Benguere, lands in Mocaranga granted to Dominicans, IV, 109. No location stated, but believed to be near Sena.

Beza, a territory in the Chidima district of Mocaranga, lying twenty leagues above Chicova Fort on the south side of the Zambesi, and through which runs a river called Mossenguezzi [Musengeazi, Mozingesi], III, 414. "One day's journey up this river Mossenguezze, in the said kingdom of Beza, there is a mountain which they call Nobiry, [C. *No, locative*; *Biri=Mine*] where there are silver mines," III, 414. Beza is ten leagues beyond [on the west] the "very large high mountains called Motoposso, in the lands of Inhamocucura, which mountains are ten leagues up the

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river [Zambesi] from Chicova, from which they can be seen, III, 414. Beza is also called Boëssa and its chief Inhamocucura as Inhaciry, III, 355, the context evidencing identity. "The kingdom of Beza, where there is a palace of the ancient Monomotapas which the Kafirs hold to be a supreme piece of work. All the Monomotapas are buried there and it serves them for a cemetery," III, 356. The Beza-Chidima *zimbaoe* (residence) of the *monomotapa* at Npande was in Beza "close by" the Mossenguezé, II, 126, and it was "distant three days' journey from the fort of Chicova," III, 406, 407. Philippe, a son of the *monomotapa*, fled from the Chidima *zimbaoe* in Beza to Chicova, "in less than three days," III, 407. On modern maps the river Zingesi, Mozingesi, occupies the position described in the records, *i.e.* intersecting Chidima in the Beza district, while the Motoposso mountains between the Mossenguezé and Chicova, and which are seen prominently in the southwest from Chicova, are now known as Vunga or Bunga mountains. See *Mossenguezé*, *Motoposso*. C. *Beza* = Fire. *Sacrifices were offered here to dead kings.*

Biri, lands lying south of and near Manica, where small snakes are found which the natives call "Ruca Inhangá," VII, 233, 275. C. *Biri* = Mine; *Rubiri* = Iron Mine.

Bocicas Islands. Islands which form the delta of the Sabi or Saba River, VII, 245-8, 273.

Bocuto, Bokoto, "the second market [on the Manzovo = Mazoe] is called Bocuto, which is also between two small rivers, forty leagues distant from Tete, and thirteen from Luanze, almost crossways on the same range of hills," III, 354. It is "on the banks of the Manzovo, where the river is joined by a stream called Inhadire, forty leagues distant from Tete, and ten leagues across from Masapa," IV, 72. It is "between two other small rivers which also join the large one [Manzovo]. This place is two leagues from the banks of both these rivers. It is forty leagues from Tete, and thirteen in a direct line from the market of Luanhé [Luanze]," VI, 368. See *Luanze*, *Masapa*, and *Manzovo*.

Boessa, see *Beza*.

Bokoto, see *Bocuto*.

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Bons Sinães River, see *Quilimane River*.

Boquiza, vassal lands of Mocaranga. No location stated. Inhampunga was chief, III, 356.

Bororo, territory on north side of the Zambesi, from Lupata to Quilimane; was subject to Maravi; II, 406; III, 470; VII, 480; references are general on Livingstone's 1865 map.

Botica, a market in Manica; not established until 1719, V, 50. No location stated.

Brava, in latitude $1^{\circ} 7'$ north, was town, port and settlement on the coast of the mainland; was the first Arab settlement after Magadosho, and subsequently to 915 A.D., when Massoude wrote, I, 12; VI, 233. On modern maps.

Buene Island, south of and near Sofala, VII, 377. On modern maps shown as Boene Island, fifteen miles south of Sofala.

Bumba, market and mission, but not a fort, in Manica; near gold mines, was not established until after 1667; also called Vumba, and Umba, II, 412, 439; III, 486. Vumba mountain in Manica, eight miles south of New Massi-Kessi, and within the boundary of Manica as defined in the records.

Bunga, lands and kraal two days' journey from Tete to Chicova on south side of Zambesi, west of and near Mufa River, which separated its lands from those of Chambo on the east side, III, 396, 432. Mufa River is on modern maps.

Butua, see *Abutua*.

Cabarbaça, Kebra-basa Rapids on Zambesi, V, 216; navigation ceases between Cachengue (east) and Chicova (west), III, 402, 403, 405, 429. See *Chicova*, *Chipiriviri*, *Chipiry*, *Sacumbe*, also *Tete to Chicova Routes* on the north and south banks of Rapids. C = where work (porterage or navigation) is broken or ended or commenced.

Cabreza River, in Mocaranga, I, 352; VI, 366, was most probably the Garesi, or Gavaresi, which appears in modern maps as an eastern tributary of the Ruenia, as the Cabreza is mentioned as being in direct communication with the Manzoro [Mazoe] and the Aruenha [Ruenia] with which

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Cabreza River is associated in the records. See *Manzovo*, *Aruenha*.

Cachengue, kraal on south bank of Zambesi at eastern end of Kebra-basa Rapids where navigation up river ceased, III, 402, 403, 425, 429.

Caija or Cayo, land called an island, twelve miles long between two rivers on south bank of Zambesi, below Sena, and opposite Inhangoma Island, III, 223. On modern maps Kaia, a town and district, is in this position. C. *Kya = the huts*.

Cayo, see *Caija*.

Chamba, see *Otongue*.

Chatney, kraal in Chidima, "a place close to Monomotapa," II, 119; one day from the Npande *zimbaoe* of the *monomotapa* coming from Chicova. Father Silveira rested here the day before reaching the Npande *zimbaoe*, where he was murdered. See *Mosenguezé River*.

Chicanga, see *Manica*.

Chicova, in Chidima country in Mocaranga; a district, fort and market on south side of Zambesi, eight days' journey from Tete, III, 396, 397, 401, 403, 425; was forty leagues from Tete, III, 420; established 1614, I, 41; III, 348, 396; IV, 155; abandoned 1616, I, 43; III, 395 to 429. On opposite bank of Zambesi were the lands of Sapoe, Sapoe's son's kraal Motava being directly opposite Chicova fort close to the river, III, 398, 403; IV, 162. Chicova is on most modern maps, and is described by Livingstone. C. *Koba = entrance*. C. *Shkova = to break through* (Elliott). *At west end of Kebra-basa Rapids where navigation up river recommences*.

Chibenga, a mountain between Manzovo [Mazoe] River and mountain of Quizinga, also near kraal of Ihamocoto, III, 370, 371. No other location stated. See *Inhamocoto*.

Chidima, a province in Mocaranga lying between Masapa (but not in the Mazoe watershed) and Chicova, and was bounded on the north by the Zambesi, and extended from the territory of the Mongasi near Tete on the east, past the Kebra-basa Rapids, Chicova and Zumbo towards, if

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not near, the Kariba Gorge in the west, III, 356, 374, 376, 404, and general. On Livingstone's map (1865) Shidima territory occupies the same relative position. There was also a town in this district which was called Chidima.

Chidima comprised the districts of Chicova and Dindi and the sub-kingdoms of Beza, Antauro [Antauva, Tauo], Inhabanzo, etc., also several petty districts of which the *monomotapa*'s relatives were chiefs. When defeated in Baroe he returned to the town of Chidima, III, 374, and not to his Chidima-Beza *zimbae*; the rebel Matuzianhe was then in possession of that *zimbae*, III, 377. See *Chicova Dindi, Antauro, Inhabanzo, Beza*, and *Chidima Town*. C. *Dima* = black, dark-blue hills; *chi* (locative).

Chidima, Town, was in Chidima territory, on the road from Tete to Chicova on the south bank of the Zambesi, and was six days' journey from Tete, and three days' journey from Chicova, III, 356, 374, 375, 396, 404, 420; the chief of the town and lands was Inhamozamo, a "lord of the Monomotapa." It was at this town that the *monomotapa*, after his defeat in Baroe, stayed in 1608, and it is not mentioned as one of his *zimbaoe*, III, 374, and, moreover, the records state that the rebel Matuzianhe, in the district of the Motoposso [Vunga mountains], and two days' journey from the Beza-Chidima *zimbae*, was at the same time in possession of "the Monomotapa's house and town," and which was clearly not the *zimbae* near Masapa, III, 377.

Chigue, vassal lands of Mocaranga. No location stated. Chief was Inhangua, III, 355, 356. Qy.: on modern maps there is a district of this name, twenty miles south of Zambesi and fifteen miles west of Angwa [Inhangua = Angwa], and twenty miles south-east of Dambarare.

Chiloane Island, nine leagues south of Sofala, very close to mainland and at the mouth of a river, VII; 377, VIII, 133. On modern maps this island is shown as Chiluan, forty miles south of Sofala, and at the mouth, forming a delta, of the River Barajo.

Chingoma, lands in Zambesi delta between Luabo and

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Quilimane Rivers where they branch off, VII, 255; I, 372.
See *Rivers of Cuama*.

Chinjamira, a territory "supposed to be forty days' journey from Sofala," but the Portuguese stated they had not been there to confirm the rumour as to distance. From context it was in the kingdom of Sabia, VII, 377, 378.

Chipanga, a grove and burial-place near Lake Rufumba, VII, 264, 265. On modern maps Shipanga is in the same position.

Chipangura, fort, market and mission in Manica, near gold mines, II, 412, 413, also called Chipangura. Chipangura and Matuca were the only forts and markets in Manica until after 1667, III, 486. C. *Mangura* = iron mine.

Chipiriviri, a market in Mocaranga, II, 417, no location stated, but it is mentioned twice in association with names in the Chidima-Chicova district, and is not once associated with any place within the Mazoe watershed. The derivation (Chicaranga) suggests connection with rocks and water, and this place is probably identical with Chipiriziva, on the north bank of the Zambesi in the Kebra-basa Rapids; "the first place is a day's journey from Chicova [towards Tete], and is called Chipiriziva where the river [Zambesi] is crossed by a large rock from side to side," III, 401. Chipiriziva is shown on Livingstone's map in this position on the rapids. The records show that the Portuguese traded for ivory, not gold, with the Bosonga [Ba-senga] people, subjects of the Maravi tribe, who were north of the Zambesi at this point, Senga country being so marked on Livingstone's map. The Urovy [Ruy] River which flows into the Zambesi near Chipiriziva is the natural approach to the Maravi territory. See *Maravi*, *Urovy*. C. *Piri-piri* = a rocky bed of a rushing stream, a ravine or gully.

Chipiry, in Kebra-basa Rapids, on north bank of the Zambesi, "two or three leagues below Chipiriziva, where the course of the river is impeded by great heaps of stones, among which the water rushes with great impetus, dashing from stone to stone in waves and whirlpools with a noise

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like thunder," III, 402. The hills at this point being steep and rugged, the path from Chicova to Tete "is distant from it [the river] half a league, more or less, according to the windings of the stream [Zambesi]," III, 403. This spot is mentioned in several works on Zambesia. C. *Piri-piri* = *a rocky bed of a rushing stream, a ravine or gully chi* (*locative*).

Chipiriziva, see *Chipiriviri*.

Chirara, on south side at mouth of Bazi [Buzi], "where all the canoes going up the Bazi stop," VII, 373. On modern maps Chirora is in this position.

Chirao, vassal lands of Mocaranga. No location stated, III, 356. Possibly identical with Chiraya in Chidima, or Chiria, or both. See *Chiraya, Chiria*.

Chiraya [o], vassal lands of Mocaranga in Chidima district, III. Possibly identical with Chirao, Chiria. See *Chirao, Chiria*.

Chireira River, "into which run the Cabreze [Garesi or Gavaresi] and Mavozo [Manzovo = Mazoe] Rivers," I, 352. Most probably meant for Chiri [Shiré], as Chiri and Zambesi were exchangeable names for the Zambesi below Sena, I, 22. See *Cabreze, Chiri*.

Chiria, vassal lands of Mocaranga. No location stated. Chief was Macota, III, 356. Possibly same as Chirao, or Chirayo, in the Chidima district, or near Luanze, as the lands of Mocota, a powerful chief, were near Luanze. See *Chirao, Chiraya, Luanze*.

Chiri, Chiry, the river Shiré, I, 352; III, 417, etc. The northern portion was named Nhanha (= *high lands*), III, 417. Chiri divided Bororo from Maravi, III, 470, 480. Chiri was also called Embele, III, 475. Chiri was exchangeable name for Zambesi below Sena, I, 22 (*Chiri = high or steep banks*). See *Chireira, Embele, Nhanha*.

Chironda, "called Massique," lands north of Bazi [Buzi] and south of Bangoe [Pungwe] Rivers, on coast, and containing Massique Point, VII, 373-375. Massique Point is shown on modern maps.

Chironga, lands in Mocaranga, "very rich in gold," where the "Captain of Masapa" went to trade, III, 361;

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most probably on the western extremity of the Mazoe watershed ; mentioned in connection with Chirungo and Nhanha [= *high land*]. See *Maboe, Masapa*.

Chirungo, lands in Mocaranga, "very rich in gold," where the "Captain of Masapa" went to trade, III, 361 ; most probably on the western extremity of Mazoe watershed ; is mentioned in connection with Chironga and Nhanha [= *high land*]. See *Maboe, Masapa*.

Chiruvia, vassal lands of Mocaranga. No location stated. Chief was Bucurume, III, 356. Qy.: same as Chirru in Chidima district. See *Chirru*.

Chissamba, a tributary of lower Bazi [Buzi], not far from its mouth, VII, 377.

Chitasse River ; its mouth was "in the bay of the port of Sofala." A tributary of this river is called Inhamunho ; the Chittasse reached to the lands of Chuparo, VII, 375, 376, 377. The river on which Sofala was built was described as "a river which is not very large," I, 93. The contexts of all references to this river show that it was merely an estuary and a stream. See *Sofala, Chuparo, Inhamunho*.

Chitoro, a district near Chicova, near "Muzinda Inhacassy, capital of Chicova," where silver mines were reported, III, 414. In 1858 a Chitora was the paramount chief of Chicova district (Livingstone's *Tributaries*, p. 180).

Choe, vassal lands of Mocaranga. No location stated, III, 356, 357. Probably identical with the lands of Ambuya (ex-Queen's kraal), of which Choe was chief, he being the court steward of the *monomotapa* (ia). C. *Ambuya* = *mother-in-law*. See *Ambuya*.

Chungwe, vassal lands of Mocaranga. No location stated. Chicoapa was chief, III, 356.

Chupafa, lands near Chironda, VII, 375. On modern maps shown as Chipafa in same position. See *Chironda*.

Chupangura. See *Chipangura*.

Chuparo, lands extending three leagues north and south, half a day's journey north of Sofala, where the best rice was grown ; it adjoined lands of Dendira, which lay to the north and on the coast ; also a village called Chuparo ; the

river Chitasse, on which was the town of Sofala, reached to these lands, VII, 372-7. See *Dendira, Chitasse*.

Condesaca, vassal lands of Mocaranga. No location stated. Chief was Mocomoaxa, III, 356. C. *Konde* = *euphorbia*. C. *Saka* = *coppice, wood*.

Correntes, Cape, called Correntes on account of strong currents running south past this cape, and making it dangerous for navigation, VII, 234, and general. On modern maps.

Cuama, Rivers of. "Cuama, which the natives call Zambesi," I, 391; VII, 253, and "which the Portuguese call Cuama," I, 350. Most frequently this name is applied only to the maritime belt at the mouths of the Zambesi, yet it is often applied to the entire length of the river, including its tributaries in the interior, but in two instances the name is strictly confined to the East Luabo mouth, III, 466. Dos Santos states: "One [mouth of the Zambesi] is called the old river of [West] Luabo and the other [East Luabo] the old Cuama, which appears to be the reason why all these rivers have come to be called the Rivers of Cuama," VII, 253. The five mouths of the Cuama are given as Quilimane River, II, 406; III, 220; VII, 252, 253, etc.; Luabo River, VII, 254, etc.; Linde River, VII, 254, etc.; Maindo River, II, 409, and Molambo. Father M. Barreto (1667) writes: "The rivers of Cuama, so-called, not because of the many streams which flow into the Zambesi, nor because of the many where trade is carried on, for then they would be named after the places through which they flow. We call Cuama the maritime belt which extends from the point of Quidango to the large bay where the lands of the Luabo end; and as the great river discharges in this district by five mouths or outlets, at a distance from each other, leaving islands between them, the district is called Cuama. Our discoverers finding five rivers in it, called them the rivers of Cuamo their real names among the Kafirs being Luabo, Molambo Enafanhama, Permani or Vuaro, and Quilimane." See *Zambesi, Quilimane River, Luabo River, Linde River, Maindo River, Molambo River*.

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Daburia, vassal lands of Mocaranga. No location stated. Ningomoxa, an uncle of the *monomotapas*, and the second person in the empire, was chief. On his murder by the *monomotapa*, the Chidima district, or that portion lying between Chidima and Mazoe, appears to become the most disturbed, III, 356, 362, 364 and general. C. *Buri* = *pass in the hills*.

Dambarare, a market fourteen days from Tete, "in the heart of Mocaranga," III, 482, in a province [Chidima] adjoining Butua, III, 494; it possessed a church, and was two hundred and twenty leagues from the sea, II, 438. No locality is definitely stated, but it is mentioned in connection with the Npande *zimbaoe* of the *monomotapa*, which was twenty days' journey from Tete. It is most probably identical with Dambarare, a Portuguese fort forty miles up the south bank of the Zambesi above Zumbo, the remains of which were reported by Feira, and also by Livingstone, and can be seen to-day. Further, the distance from Tete to the Masapa *zimbaoe* being only about one hundred and thirty miles, not ten or more than ten days would be required for the journey; but from Tete to the Chidima *zimbaoe* at Npande the distance was greater, and would have required about twenty days, at the average rate of travel of the Portuguese (not of natives) as shown in the records. "The market of Dambarare is situated among all the gold mines," IV, 423. Dambarare is also mentioned as Ambarare, which is also stated to be a fort and market in Mocaranga, and near gold mines, II, 417. See *Ambarare*.

Dendira, lands north of and adjoining the lands of Chuparo, which is half a day's journey north from Sofala; extends for three leagues up the coast, VII, 373, 374. On modern maps there is a town, Dendira, fifteen miles N.W. from Sofala. See *Chuparo*.

Diza, vassal lands in Mocaranga. Chief was Madungue, III, 356. No location stated.

Dombo, one of "the three noted mountains in Quiteve," VII, 381. No location stated. C. *Dombo* = *a fort or place of refuge among rocks*.

Donda, river in Quiteve, and near Sofala, and which flows into the south end of Sofala Bay. It "has its source in Garrabua and winds round the country of Emparras, which commences opposite the fort [Sofala] at a place called Matto Groço, or Como, VII, 377. C. *Dondo* = thicket, bush country.

Dos Reys River, the Limpopo. "We named it Dos Reys, or of the King's, for being first seen on the day of Epiphany" (Sousa, I, 4). See also *Reys, Rio Dos*.

Embele, another native name for Chiri (Shiré) River, III, 475. See *Chiri*.

Empanzo, kraal and lands on north bank of Zambesi, near and above Tete, its chief Chicussy, "a neighbour of Tete," was where the first day's journey from Tete to Chicova on the north bank road ended, a part of Inham-pury's district being the next stage towards Chicova from Tete, III, 396-7, 401-3, 420, 430. Considered as identical with Chatucy. See *Inhambury*.

Emparras, land south of and opposite Sofala, and contains the settlement of Matto Groço or Como, VII, 377.

Empongo, above Tete, near edge of Zambesi, where there are three hot springs which are covered when the river is in flood, VII, 265.

Fogo Island, one of the Angosha group, II, 425. On modern maps. See *Angosha Group*.

Fubaxe, "a place" on the coast north of Osanya [modern Sane] and Cabo S. Sebastian, and opposite Island of Bazaruta, II, 219. See *Osanya, Sebastian, Cabo S., Bazaruta*.

Fura. "Close to the town of Masapa is a very high and grand mountain called Fura, from which there is a view of a great part of the kingdom of [the] monomotapa. On the summit of this mountain some fragments of old walls and ancient ruins of stone and mortar are still standing," and which the Portuguese considered, on Arab tradition, were "the ruins of the factory of Solomon," VII, 275, 276. "There is a quantity of fine gold in the lands round this mountain" (*id.*). "Close to this market [Masapa] is the great and rich mountain called Fura, very plentiful in gold, from which ancient Moorish tradition relates that the

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Queen of Sheba took gold," III, 354. "In the mountain Afur, near Masapa, are seen the ruins of stately buildings, supposed to be palaces and castles," I, 23, but "the emperor [the monomotapa] has a great palace, though of wood" (*id.*). "Built of wood, covered with clay, and thatched with straw," VII, 275, "and surrounded by a great wooden fence," III, 356. C. *Refure* = highest point in a range. See *Masapa*.

Gamba. See *Otongue*.

Gaonhé, in Quissanga, the *zimbaoe* or residence of the King of Quiteve, fifteen days' journey, for military expedition, from Sofala, VII, 378; two days from Manica gold workings, and near "the inaccessible mountains" of Magoma, I, 29; VI, 388, 389; VII, 218. See *Magoma*, *Quiteve*, *Quissanga*.

Gembe, one of "the three noted mountains in Quiteve," VIII, 381. No location stated. Mount Ujembí is shown on modern maps on and close to the north bank of Revue River at one hundred miles in a direct line from mouth of the Buzi River. This was on the trade route between Sofala and Manica, and along the Bazi and Revue. Ujembí is within twenty miles of the Quissanga residence of the king of Quiteve.

Gobira, land in Quiteve, north of Sofala, and south of Chupanga [Shupanga], owned by a Portuguese settler, is mentioned in connection with Tambara, III, 467, 487. This Tambara is on modern maps, and shown in Quiteve, and as thirty miles north of the Pungwe and east of Gorongoza mountains, while about twenty miles north of Tambara is Geuveia, which is north of the Gorongoza mountains. See *Tambara*.

Gorongoza Mountains. Though this name is not given in the records, these mountains are referred to by Dos Santos as "The spine of the world." C. *M'Zongosa* = spine.

Hanganhe, mountains where "there is rock crystal, and it may be inferred that diamonds and other precious stones are to be found there," VII, 379. No position stated, but from context it was at the extreme north-west of the kingdom of Quiteve. The Quiteve had a *zimbaoe* for his wives

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at Hanganhé, seven days' journey from Sofala, probably the same place, VII, 378. C. *Inyaganu* = frontier. See *Hanganhé*, *Gaonhé*.

Hanganhé, where the Quiteve's wives had their *zimbaoe*, "in high Quitene, three days' journey from Ussema and seven from Sofala," VII, 378. See *Ussema*, *Hanganhe*, *Gaonhé*.

Iago, Island of Saint, near Mozambique, IV, 444; IX, 9, and 16. On modern maps as Iago Island, in Mozambique Bay.

Inhabanzo.¹ Extensive lands on west side of and adjoining Tete, on south side of Zambesi, and containing twenty-five large villages, and was "ten leagues," "two days' journey" from Tete, were granted to Simoens by the *monomotapa*. Maximira was chief. Also called Inhambaso, III, 356, 372-4, 432, 433; IV, 86. See *Inhambaso*.

Inhabuze, a territory on the coast lying immediately south of the Inharingue River, and between the coast and Panda on the west, and north of the district of Mamusa, II, 202, 217. See *Inharingue River*, *Mamusa*, *Panda*. *Inhacassy*, the chief town in the district of Chicora, and one league from the port at Chicova, was also called Muzinda Inhacassy, III, 414. See *Chitoro*.

Inhacatambara, "a thick wood" above Sena, III, 394. On modern maps Tambara is north-west of Sena on

¹ It will be seen in the records that a great proportion of the place-names given in the earliest records commence with *Inha*. This is but the Portuguese rendering of the locative prefix, one form of which is *Inya*, and is written by various scholars as *Inya*, 'N, or N', according to fancy, though the more correct form, and one that should be uniformly adopted, is N'. So slightly and almost imperceptibly is this prefix sounded by the Karanga that some Europeans practically discard the use of this locative prefix in speaking Chi-Karanga, and only very sparsely employ it in writing; while, on the other hand, some go to the opposite extreme and overdo its use, forgetful that in most instances the other locative prefixes are not only more appropriate but more correct. But *Inya* or N' (= "here is," or "at the place of") is only employed for a definite purpose evident from the word to which it is prefixed and which necessitates location; for instance, *Inhabiri* (N'Biri) = "the place where the mine is"; *Inhachitoro* (N'Chitoro) = "the place of Chitoro (a certain chief)"; *Inyadanga* (N'Danga) = "the place where the cattle-kraal is," etc.

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the south side of the Zambesi and west of Muira River.

Inhadiri River, a tributary of the Aruenha [Ruenya], which again is a tributary of the Manzovo [Mazoe], III, 354; IV, 72. On modern maps 'Nyadiri is an important tributary of the Mazoe. See *Manzovo, Aruenha, Luanze, Bocuto*. C. *Ndarira* = copper.

Inhaguea, a village north of Sofala on the coast road from Sofala to the mouth of the Zambesi, VII, 251. Modern maps show Inyagua north of Sofala. See *Tebe*.

Inhajinga, a large lake with a stream running into the Bazi[Buzi] River, in Mungova locality near Sofala, VII, 375. On modern maps a lake called Zara adjoins Mungova about ten miles south of the Buzi River. See *Mungova*. C. *Zara* and *Zhara* = source of a river.

Inhambane, also called Nyambana, a port at the mouth of the Inhambane River, and a trading station for ivory and slaves, gold not being mentioned, II, 73, 94, 141; IV, 26; IX, 33. On modern maps.

Inhambane River, on which is the port of Inhambane, II, 73, 94; it separates the kingdoms of Sabi (north), and Otongwe (south), VII, 286. On modern maps.

Inhambaso, lands on west side of and near Tete, and south of Zambezi, granted by the *monomotapa* to Simoens, IV, 86, and is identical with Inhabanzo. See *Inhabanzo*.

Inhameai, lands in Mocaranga granted to Dominicans, IV, 109. See *Inhamior*.

Inhamior, or Inhamioy, district one league from Sena, on south bank of Zambesi. Father Silveira went there every day from Sena, II, 118; VII, 267. Most probably identical with Inhameai, lands also granted to Dominicans, and stated by Portuguese to be the modern San Domingo. See *Inhameai*.

Inhampapa, a small river in Quiteve which flows into Sofala Bay near Sofala, VII, 377.

Inhangoma, lands called an island below and opposite Sena, ten leagues long, occupied by Macuas. Chief's name Chingoma, VII, 255. On modern maps. Inyamgoma Island in this position.

Inhaniunbo, tributary of the Chitasse River, which flows into Sofala Bay, VII, 375-6, 377.

Inharingue River, separates the kingdoms of Otongue (north) and Inhabuze (south), I, 34; II, 202; it is "a great river," flowing direct to the sea, and slightly tidal, II, 64. The kraal of Gambo, the chief of Otongue, "surrounded by rather high mountains," was one league and a half north of this river, but inland from the coast, II, 64, 218. The territories of Mocumbe and Javara were north of this river and west of Otongue, and the river separated Javara (north) from Panda or Imbane (south), I, 34; II, 202. See *Otongue, Inhabuze, Javara, Mocumbe*.

Inhaparapala, a town below and close to Sena on the south bank of the Zambesi, I, 26; VI, 369.

Inhasato, an island on the south side of the mouth of the river at Sofala, and opposite Sofala, also called Inyansata. On modern maps this island is called Inhancata, VII, 348, 351, 352.

Inhapando, vassal lands near Tete on north bank of Zambesi, V, 32. On modern maps there is a town and district adjoining Tete on the south-east, called Nyarupande.

Inhampury, lands of a chief of this name in Bororo, its chief, evidently the chief of Marenga district, was "lord of many vassals." The lands extending from north-west to east of Tete on the north bank of the Zambesi. Part of the lands of Inhampury was reached on the second day's journey from Tete to Chicova on the north side of the Zambesi, opposite Cachengue, which was on the south bank and was twenty leagues from Tete, and where navigation up river at eastern end of Rebra-basa Gorge ended. Gaspar Bocarro, on his journey from Tete to Kilwa (1616), passes through Bororo, in which on his second night he arrives at the kraal of Inhampury, III, 402, 416, 429, 430.

Inhamocoto, a kraal on Manzovo [Mazoe], near Marenga kraal, opposite side of river near the bank of which the concession of mines to the Portuguese was signed by the *monomotapa*, August 1, 1607, III, 367, context suggesting

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vicinity of Mount Chibenga, III, 370, also that it was not far from Luanze. From context identical with Macota. See *Chibenga, Macota*.

Inhanconda, "a small river" tributary of Bazi [Buzi] on right bank, which "surrounds" the lands of Zomba, and separates Zomba from Mungova, VII, 357. See *Zomba*.

Inhapula, district on the south side of Dos Reys River (Limpopo), near its mouth and south of Inhabuze, II, 202, 217. On present maps as Inyapura, immediately south of Limpopo River. See *Reys, Rio Dos*.

Inmaliamue, a place on Bazi [Buzi] river, three days' journey from mouth, where a rock crosses the river from side to side, preventing navigation up river, this rock having "an arch through which the water passes," VII, 374. On modern maps this rock is shown at eighty miles in a direct line from the mouth of the Buzi, and is called Inyaromirua, and a kraal at this point on the south side is called Umliwani."

Inyansata. See *Inhasato*.

Javara, a territory north of the Inharingwe river and west of and adjoining the kingdom of Otongue, I, 34; II, 202.

Kilimane. See *Quilimane*.

Kilwa, sometimes written Quiloa, town and port on coral island off coast of mainland, in latitude $8^{\circ} 57'$ south. Believed to have been the Rhapta of the Periplus, also of Ptolemy, or near that place. Persians settled there about 1000 A.D., or about seventy years after the settlement of Magadosho by the Arabs of the Persian Gulf; from Kilwa the Persians acquired sovereignty of the coast from Zanzibar to Sofala and Cape Correntes (it is believed also as far as Natal). They were in possession of Sofala on the arrival of the Portuguese, 1505. Kilwa, "the ancient and noble city," is an island separated from the mainland by "a small strait," I, 7; was the trading centre of the Persians on the coast, I, 13, 98; III, 93. On modern maps.

Kwa-Kwa, native name for Quilimane River. Livingstone's *Tributaries of the Zambesi*, p. 150. See *Quilimane River*.

Kwizungo River, "a large river with a good port and bay" on east coast, north-east of Quilimane, III, 217; VII, 310, 311, 368. The people of the Macua tribe lived here. It is also called Quizimguo. On modern maps as Quizungo River, one hundred and ten miles north-east of Quilimane. C. *Kwizi* = *River*; *Sungo* = *stench*.

Linde River, one of the "five mouths or branches" of the Zambesi, VII, 254; five leagues [fifteen miles] south of Quilimane River; "the port is very convenient and deep, and with no bar;" flows from the Quilimane River, III, 466. On all modern maps as Lindi, Linde. See *Rivers of Cuama, Zambesi*.

Loranga, river and territory, "inhabited by Macua Kafirs, five leagues up coast from Quilimane; "has a fine bay," VII, 305, 307-9.

Luabo River, "a great arm" of the Zambesi which "is navigable all the year"; thirty leagues south of Quilimane, and is thirty leagues long, I, 350; III, 219; IV, 255; VII, 253, 254. On modern maps this is East Luabo River. See *Rivers of Cuama, Zambesi*.

Luabo, island, in Zambesi delta, near sea-bar, south of East Luabo River, VII, 254. On some modern maps. See *Rivers of Cuama*.

Luanhé. See *Luanze*.

Luanze, Luanhé, "the first market" from Tete to Masapa, four days' journey south from Zambesi, I, 23; forty leagues from Tete, II, 416; one hundred and sixty leagues from the sea, II, 438; "Mocoto, a powerful Kafir, a neighbour of our market at Luanze," III, 415. From Tete to Luanze it is "five days' hurried travelling according to the custom of the Kafirs." It is situated "between the rivers Inhadiri [Nyadiri] and Aruenha [Luenhé, Ruenia], both of which flow into the Manzovo [Mazoe]," III, 354; also, it is "between the river Inhadire and a tributary of it called Aruenha, thirty-five leagues distant from Tete, and thirteen from Bocuto," IV, 73. "It is about thirty-five leagues distant from Tete to the south. It is between two small rivers which, when they unite, are called Mansovo [elsewhere Manzovo, the Mazoe], and the said place is ten

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leagues from each of these rivers. From Tete to this market our men are four days on the road," VI, 368. It is thirteen leagues from Bocuto, "almost crossways on the same range of hills," III, 354. At Luanze "begins the land of gold" [extending south], II, 438. See *Inhadiri, Aruenha, Manzovo, Bocuto, Masapa*.

Lupata Mountains, a range of mountains which extend across the Zambesi at Lupata Gorge, I, 26, and are three leagues in width, III, 476, 477, etc. The gorge is called "the Gates of Mongaz," III, 238. C, *Lu, lvia* = river, also *Rue and ruia* = river. C. *Pata* = a pass in hills.

Maboe, a district south of Zambesi, mentioned in connection with Chirungo, Chironga, and Nhanha, places where the "Captain of Masapo" went to trade, apparently on the extreme west side of Mazoe watershed, as Chunzo, a powerful king on the west of Zambesi (about Kariba Gorge) attacked it from the west, III, 361.

Macambura, a mission near Sena, served by the priest at Sena (1746), V, 215. On modern maps Makambura is on north side of Zambesi, and fifteen miles due north of Sena.

Maçuzane, or Massanzane, lands on the coast north of Sofala, and immediately north of the River Poco, extending six leagues to the southern side of the Buzi River, VII, 373, also called Macanjane. On modern maps the name Massanzani represents Macazane, also Massanzani Bay, which lies immediately north of Sofala, and south of the Buzi River. See *Poco*.

Macanjane, see *Maçanzane*.

Machanger, lands extending from opposite the island of Buene, which is "four leagues down the coast from Sofala" to Mambone, on the River Sabi, VII, 377. Buene Island is shown on modern maps as fifteen miles south of Sofala, also Machanga Point is off the mouth of the Sabi River, while Mashanga district is shown as lying between Sofala and the Sabi. See *Buene Island, Mambone*.

Macuane, a territory extending along coast from Cape Delgada to fifty leagues south of Mozambique, occupied by Macua who were vassals of the Maravi people, III, 463, 465; V, 83, etc. On modern maps the Macua are shown as

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occupying in these parts and extending west to Lake Nyassa, the records showing that the Maravi were west and south-west of Lake Nyassa. See *Maravi*.

Macota, the lands of Macota, a powerful chief in Mocaranga, near the market of Luanze, III, 414. No location stated. C. *Kota* = a division of an army; pl., *Makota* (Elliott). (?) Head-quarters of an army. See *Luanze*.

Macurube, vassal lands of Mocaranga, no location stated. Antova, the *monomotapa*'s uncle, was chief, III, 356. Most probably in Chidima.

Macute Island, one of the Angosha group, II, 425. See *Angosha Group*.

Madanda. See *Sabia*.

Maembe, hot springs near Lake Rufumba, VII, 265. Lake Rufumba is shown on modern maps.

Magadosho (variously spelt as Magadoxo, Magadaxo, Magadosho, Mogdishi, Mukdeesha), town on the coast of the mainland, in latitude $2^{\circ} 2'$ north of the equator, founded by Arabs from Persian Gulf about 930 A.D., from which the Arabs spread to and founded Brava, and established themselves in Mombasa, Melinde, and Sofala, from which latter they spread to Cape Correntes and Madagascar, Magadosho remaining the metropolis, I, 22; VI, 234, 235, 273. On all modern maps.

Magida Cochena River, in Mocaranga; its waters are like milk in colour, and was called the "White Water," III, 378. Context shows it was two days' journey from, and on the western side of the Masapa *zimbaoe* of the *monomotapa*. The rebel Matuzianhe being defeated at this river by the *monomotapa*, takes refuge in Matarira mountain, which was stated to be between Masapa fort and the *zimbave* of the *monomotapa*, III, 378, 379. See *Matarira*, C. *Tjena*=white.

Magoma, one of the "three noted mountains in Quiteve," VII, 381. "Every year in the month of September when the new moon appears, Quiteve ascends a very high mountain near the city called Zimbaoe [at Gaonhé], in which he dwells, on the summit of which he performs grand obsequies for the kings, his predecessors, who are all buried

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there," VII, 196; the "great mountain close by the zimbae," to which the Quiteve, his wives and people fled on the approach of Homem's expedition, 1572, and which is mentioned as being within two days' journey of the gold mines of Manica, VII, 218. "Magoma, where is the burial-place of the kings and queens of Quiteve." The successors "make a visit to the cave to see the bones of the former kings," VII, 382. The cave is stated to have been on the top of the mountain "surrounded by a wood," and near was "a town where lived the guards of the dead," VII, 378. See *Gaonhé, Quissanga*. C. *Magoma*=*hills, or strongholds in hills*.

Maindo Island. Land within the Delta of Zambesi. Adjoining coast on east, and Luabo Island on south, II, 409. On modern maps as Mahindo. See *Maindo River*.

Maindo River, one of the five mouths of the Zambesi. On modern maps as Mahindo River. See *Cuama*.

Majora, a fort, not a market, ten leagues from Tete, "on the banks of the river of the same name," abandoned shortly after erection. It was on the road from Tete to Luanze, and was in Botonga; the Mongasi people were Botonga, and Mongasi district is mentioned elsewhere as Botonga. A place, Inhamigare, was half a day's journey nearer Luanze from Majora Fort, II, 414.

Majora River, river in Mongasi district, at ten leagues from Tete towards Luanze, II, 414.

Mambo Muzipa, the chief of a district on south bank of Zambesi, near "a great mountain," which was two leagues from "a small island in the middle of the river" Zambesi above Chicova. No other particulars of location given. Mambo Muzipa stated to mean "black king," III, 376.

Mambone, a district on the coast in the kingdom of Sabia, on the south side of the mouth of the Sabia [Sabi] River, VII, 379 (fifteen leagues south of Sofala, VII, 237, 245). On modern maps as Mamboni.

Mamusa, a dependent district of Inhapula, on north side of Rio Dos Reys (Limpopo), near its mouth, II, 202, 217. See *Reys, Rio Dos*.

Manganja [Lake Nyassa], is visited in 1616 by Gaspar

Bocarro, III, 416. See *Tete to Kilwa*, and route of Bocarro, p. 471.

Manica, or Chicanga [Tshikanga] Kingdom. The boundaries of the kingdom of Manica were : Mocaranga, the kingdom of the *monomotapa*, on the west, the kingdom of Baroe [Barue] on the north, the Quissanga district of the kingdom of the Quiteve on the east, the kingdom of the Quiteve on the south-east, and the small kingdom of Biri on the south, II, 411; III, 486; VII, 233, 275 and general. The kingdom of Baroe [Barue] lay between Manica and Sena. Manica was sixty leagues from Sena, II, 411, and sixty leagues from Sofala, VII, 185. The sub-district of Maungo, in Baroe, of which Macone [Makoni] was chief, immediately adjoined Manica on the north, II, 439; III, 355, 487. Manica was situated along a mountain range twenty (?) days' journey from Sena, III, 353, also stated to be seven to nine days' journey from Sena, III, 487. Another name for Manica is Chicanga, often written Tshikanga, VI, 389, 391; VII, 217, 218, 273, 274. The name Matuca was in one instance applied to Manica, VI, 266; but, judging by contexts, on other occasions applied only to the northern part of Manica adjoining Baroe, the people of which were Ba-Tonga, III, 487, 488, as were the people of the northern part of Manica, the bulk of the people of Manica being Mocaranga. There was a fort and market called Matuca established in Manica, II, 412, 439; III, 486; and this appears to localise the place as within Manica. De Barros, who was not an original writer, and who in this instance is opposed to all the original writers on the spot, claims, VI, 266, Matuca as a name for the whole of Manica.

On the arrival of the Portuguese (1505), a tradition prevailed among the natives that an ancient *monomotapa* had sent three of his sons to rule over his vassal kingdoms of Manica, Quiteve, and Sabia or Sedanda respectively, and that upon his death the three sons rebelled against their eldest brother who had become the *monomotapa*, and the three kingdoms became separate and independent, III, 482; VI, 391. The dynastic title of the king of Manica was

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Chicanga, or Tshikanga. Manica was the smallest and least important of the four kingdoms of the *monomotapa*, Quiteve and Sedanda, and "extended only thirty leagues," and was "full of mountains," III, 227.

"The mines of Manica are on a plain surrounded by mountains, having a circumference of about thirty leagues," VI, 266; and were only two days' journey from the chief *zimbaoe*, or residence, of the king of Quiteve, VII, 218. The *zimbaoe* of the Tshikanga was burnt down in 1635, IV, 278. From a careful study of the contexts, and of the features of the district, it would appear that the mines of Manica were on the eastern side of the Umtali and Inyanga escarpment, and were situated very near, if not at, old Massi-kessi.

The Portuguese had several trading stations in Manica—Chipangura, Mutuca [Matuca] and Bumba (Umba, Vumba), I, 401; II, 412; 413; III, 486. Bumba was not established until after 1667, III, 486. In 1719 a trading station was opened at Botica [? Mutuca], V, 50. All these markets were near the area from which the natives washed the earth for gold, I, 15, 29; II, 412; VI, 240, 389, 390, and general. "The River of Sofala," the Ruvvoe [Revue], rises in Manica, III, 479; VII, 374. See *Quissanga, Matuca, Chipangura, Bumba, Ruvvoe*. C. Mannikira = to crowd together. (?) Hills are crowded together.

Manzovo [Mazoe] River, a tributary of the Zambesi on the south bank, flows through part of Mocaranga, VI, 366. It flows into the Zambesi at five leagues below Tete, III, 354, and general. Tributaries mentioned: Aruenha [Ruenya], III, 354, Inhadiri [Nyadiri], III, 354; Cabreza [Garesi, Gavaresi], I, 532; VI, 366. Several writers made the Manzovo the main river and Aruenha the tributary, but others the reverse. The watershed of the Manzovo contained the three fairs, Luanze, Bocuto, and Masapa, and it contains the present districts of Abercorn, Mount Darwin, and Kaiser Wilhelm. Manzovo was also written Mauzova, Mazova, and is once called Zovo.

Manzovo, a market on the Manzovo River, but from context this would appear to be one of the "three markets"

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on the Manzovo, "Luanze, Bocuto and Manzovo," I, 23; VI, 367, 368. Most probably it was Bocuto, for in the context containing the reference to this market Bocuto is not mentioned, while the other two are, and this is the only instance in which Bocuto is omitted, VII, 270. There is no reference in the records to a fourth market on the Manzovo.

Maparo, lands in Mocaranga granted to Dominicans (1613), IV, 109. No location stated.

Mapura, a river in Quiteve, VII, 379. Mentioned in connection with the Revue River.

Maramuca, a district "in Mocaranga, in its upper part towards the north," is the richest gold district in Mocaranga. It was conceded to a Portuguese settler. Its people were Botonga, III, 484, 485, 486. Dambarari, on the Zambesi, which was the most westerly fort of the Portuguese, is mentioned as the place of tribunal before which a lawsuit concerning the title to these lands was heard. Botonga lived in scattered tribes along the south bank of the Zambesi, also in Baroe, and in the kingdom of Batonga which was south-west of Inhambane, and also along the Sofala coast from Inhambane to the Zambesi mouths. C. *Mara*=red buck, *rooibok*. C *Muca*=antelope.

Marenga, lands above Tete on south bank of Zambesi, and below Kebra-basa Rapids, vassal lands to Tete, III, 429, 430. Chief of Marenga fortified himself in Mount Sacumbe in this district (see *Sacumbe Mountain*); a kraal also called Sacumbe was in this district, III, 402. See *Inhampury*.

Marope River, in Mocaranga, not far from the River Motambo, III, 362. No other location stated. From context it would appear to have been a tributary of Zambesi on its south side.

Masapa, "the third market [in the watershed of the Manzovo]," is "four leagues from the river Manzovo [Mazoe] This [market] is the principal and largest of all. It is fifty leagues distant from Tete, and ten from Bocuto," III, 354. Gold mines are near Masapa, III, 235. "Masapa is the third market, which is reached by travelling along

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the River Manzovo, and is fifty leagues from Tete," VI, 369. "Close to the town of Masapa is a very high and grand mountain called Fura [Refure], (also called 'Fururano'), from which there is a view of a great part of the kingdom of the *monomotapa*. On the summit of this mountain some fragments of old walls are still standing" which were ascribed to Solomonic times, VII, 275; VI, 391. The Portuguese official "Captain of the Gates" resided at Masapa, II, 415, 417; IV, 72; VII, 271. Near Masapa was the *zimbaoe*, or residence, of the *monomotapa*, which was built of wood, I, 23. "The king's palaces are built of wood covered with clay and thatched with straw," VII, 275, and was "surrounded by a great wooden fence," III, 356; its houses burnt, III, 379. See *Manzovo, Fura*.

Masapa, a tributary of Bazi [Buzi] River on left bank, VII, 379. On all modern maps as Rusapa, or Musapa.

Massique, a headland on the coast between Bazi [Buzi] and Bangoe [Pungwe] Rivers, and in the lands of Chironda, VII, 374. On modern maps as Massique Point. See *Chironda*.

Matafana, fort, trading station and mission in Mocaranga, near gold mines, II, 417. No location stated. First mention 1634.

Matandanduva, a kraal and lands on the road on south bank of Zambesi from Tete to Chicova, and reached on seventh day's journey from Tete. It was between the kraals and lands of Chidima and Dinde. Manguende was chief, III, 396, 411.

Matarira Mountain, between Masapa fort and the *zimbaoe* of the *monomotapa*. The rebel Matuzianhe being defeated at the Magida Cochena River, takes refuge in this mountain, and later withdrew to the mountain of Quizinga, III, 378, 379, 380. See *Magida Cochena, Quizinga*.

Matto Groço, or Como, a settlement opposite Sofala on the south, VII, 377. On modern maps as Mato Grossa. A place of same name was also in the Portuguese possessions in Brazil.

Matuca, fort, market, and mission in Manica, near gold mines ; is also called Mutuca, II, 412, 439. Until after 1667

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it and Chipangura were the only two forts and markets in Manica, III, 486.

Maungo, vassal lands of Mocaranga in Baroe, north of and adjoining Manica ; chief was Macone; forming part of Baroe, II, 439; III, 355, 417. See *Manica*.

Melinde (variously spelt Melinde, Melinda, Maleenda, and Malindi), in latitude $3^{\circ} 15'$ south of the equator, situated on the coast of the mainland, I, 6; III, 82; VI, 182.

Missangaji River, tributary of Bazi [Buzi] River, VII, 379. On modern maps, Masangadzi, tributary of the Revue River. Revue and Bazi were exchangeable names. See *Revue, Bazi, Quiteve*.

Mocaranga, country of. See Chapter XIV, p. 390.

Mocolonga Island, one of the Angosha group, II, 425. See *Angosha Group*.

Mocumba, territory north of and adjoining Javara, which was north of the Inharingue River and west of the kingdom of Otongue, II, 202. On modern maps the district of Mokumbi is north of the Inharingue River towards the interior. See *Javara, Otongue*.

Molambo River, the western branch of the East Luabo mouth of the Zambesi River, III, 504. The Portuguese adopted the native name for this branch. On modern maps as Milambo.

Mombasa, on a coral island about three miles long by two broad ; situated in latitude $4^{\circ} 4'$ south. "The city of Mombasa is seated on an island, which is about fourteen leagues in circumference ; it is beautifully strong ; before it is a large bay capable of containing many ships," I, 13. On modern maps.

Mongas, or **Mongasi**. The territory of this vassal kingdom of Mocaranga lay on the south side of the Zambesi and extended from below Lupata Gorge to Tete, and was traversed by the lower waters of the Manzovo [Mazoe], and had to be crossed on going from Sena to the mines of Butna, Chicova and Masapa, and on going from Tete to Masapa, Manica and Baroe, I, 26, 352; II, 414; III, 228, 355, 372; IV, 160; VI, 366; VII, 263. It contained the temporary fort of Majova (see *Majova*), the lands of

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Romba (see *Romba*), the kraals of Terr (see *Terr*), Hamboa (see *Hamboa*), Marenga (see *Marenga*), and Inhamacoto (see *Inhamacoto*), a River Majova (see *Majova River*), also Inhamigare (see *Inhamigare*).

"**Monomotapa**, Empire of the." See Chapter XIV, pp. 392.

Morambala, "a famous mountain," six or eight leagues south-east of Sena; range is six leagues wide and three long, with clouds on the summit, III, 475. This is the celebrated Morumbala mountain range, thirty miles east-south-east from Sena, on the east side of Shiré River above its junction with Zambesi, and on all modern maps. Dos Santos called these mountains Chiri, after the River Chiri (Shiré), VII, 268.

Morondo, a gold district, not located, III, 491.

Mossengueze River, in Beza-Chidima district, a tributary of Zambesi on south bank, one day's journey up river from Chicova, intersects the kingdom of Beza; *monomotapa's zimbaoe* in Beza was "close by" the river. Also written Mossengece, also the mountain Nobiry, II, 126, 127; III, 414. On modern maps as Musengeasi, Zingesi, and M'Zengesi, in the same position. The river into which the body of Father Silveira was thrown, August 11, 1561; he was murdered at the Beza *zimbaoe* at Npande.

Motambo River, "near the court of the *monomotapa*," and not far from the River Marope, III, 362. No clue as to which *zimbaoe* was intended, but most probably Npande. See *Marope River*.

Motava, kraal in Sapoe's lands on north bank of Zambesi immediately opposite and near the fort of Chicova. Sapoe's son was chief, III, 403.

Motoposso, in Mocaranga, mountain and district of a chief of the same name, ten leagues up the Zambesi from Chicova and on south side, situated in the Chidima district, and half way between Chicova and the Beza *zimbaoe* of the *monomotapa*, and one day's journey up the right bank of the Mossengueze River, and could be prominently seen from Chicova, II, 126; III, 377, 414. Is now identified with the present Vunga or Bunga Hills on the south-west

of Chicova, from which place they can be seen, also in the same relative position with the M'Zingesi [Mossenguezi] River. The personal name of the chief Motoposso was Inhamocucura, III, 414, also once written Inhaciry, III, 355, the context evidencing identity. Inhamocucura on modern maps. See *Mossengueze, Besa*.

Mozambique, island, town, port and settlement, in latitude 15° south, and half a league distant from mainland ; was the head-quarters of the Portuguese administration and commerce of the whole of South-eastern Africa, I, 97, 98; III, 208. References numerous. On modern maps.

Mozambique Island, an islet in Zambesi, just below and close to Lupata Gorge, I, 476, and on modern maps. Evidently there were two islands of the name on the Lower Zambesi.

Mufa River, on south side of Zambesi above Tete, from which it was reached on the second day's journey towards Chicova. Bunga kraal was near to the Mufa on the west side, the river separating the lands of Bunga on the west side and those of Chambo on the east side, III, 432. On R.G.S. map (Murray, 1873) it is marked in this position, and it joins the Zambesi at twelve miles north-west of Tete, and also on recent maps.

Mumhingi, a river in Quiteve, VII, 379. No position stated, but it appears to have been an important river.

Mungova, lands one day's journey from Sofala (from context north-west of Sofala); rice from Mungova was sent to Sofala "through Xironde, by the River Bazi [Buzi]" in canoes. Mungova was also called Rios ; "Mungova means, literally, a swampy ground without wood, and such is in reality Mungova," VII, 372, 375. On modern maps Mugova district is south of the River Buzi at about twenty-five miles or less north-west from Sofala. See *Zomba, Inhanconda*. *C. Mungova = a species of timber*.

Mungussy, vassal lands of Mocaranga, no location stated, but from context it was in Chidima. The "Great Wife" of the *monomotapa* resided here, III, 356.

Mutuca. See *Matuca*.

Nayo, a kraal above Sena ; from context it appears to

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have been situated on the north bank of the Zambesi, and nearer Bandar than Sena, III, 392 *et seq.* See *Bandar*.

Nhanha ("high land"), lands in Mocaranga "very rich in gold," where the "Captain of the Masapa" went to trade, III, 361. Most probably on western extremity of Mazoe watershed, mentioned in connection with Chirungo and Chironga. See *Maboe*.

Nhanha ("high land"), name of the territory through which the northern and upper portion of the Chiri (Shiré) River flowed, III, 417. See *Chiri*.

Nobiry, a mountain in Beza in the Chidima district, silver mines in the locality, one day's journey up Mossengueze [M'Zingesi] River from Zambesi, III, 414. See *Mossengueze*. C. *Biri* = mine. *No* (locative) = present, here.

Nyambana. See *Inhambane*.

Nyassa Lake. See *Manganji*.

Ongwe. See *Otongwe*.

Osanya, or Sane, a district and town near S. Sebastian, II, 219, "opposite the islands of Bazaruto," VIII, 133, and near a river which is dry at low tide and more than three leagues in width. On some modern maps as Sane.

Otongue. The kingdom of Otongue extended south-west thirty leagues from Inhambane, the nearest port to the king of Otongue's chief kraal, II, 67, 85; it was bounded on the north by the Inhambane River, which separated it from the kingdom of Sabia, VII, 286, on the east by the Indian Ocean, II, 202; on the south by the Inharingue River, which separated it from the kingdom of Inhabuze, II, 202, and on the west by the kingdoms of Mocumbe and Javara, both of which were north of the Inharingue River, I, 34; II, 202. Otongue was also called the kingdom of Gamba, Gamba being the king of Otongue, II, 95, 202; also the kingdom of Batonga, VII, 286. The kingdom contained ten to twelve thousand souls, II, 63; its people were Ma-Karanga, II, 64, 66; the neighbouring kingdoms were populated by Batonga, II, 66. Gamba's chief kraal is "on a great river" [Inharingue] flowing direct to the sea and slightly tidal, the kraal being "surrounded by rather high mountains," II, 64; it was one league and a half

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north of the river [Inharingue], II, 218; the journey from Gamba's to Inhambane took natives two days and one night without stopping, II, 85; and Father Fernandes took almost four days to walk from Inhambane to the kraal, II, 86. The people of Otongue, Ma-Karanga, having unsuccessfully rebelled against their superior lord, were driven south-east and settled in Otongue, usurping the territory of the local Batonga, whom they had defeated, II, 66. The second chief kraal was at the mouth of the river [Inharingue], and at this kraal the people were Botonga, II, 67. The kingdom of Chamba, mentioned VIII, 130, is evidently Gamba. On the French map of 1719, the kingdom of Tonge is shown as before described. See *Inhambane*, *Inharingue*.

Poco, a river and district near Sofala, "the river Poco, which runs to the sea, divides the lands of Bellangane [north] and the lands of Pongoe [south]"; described as a rich grain district. "At Poco there are quarries, whence the stones for the repair of the fort [Sofala] are conveyed in boats by the river Poco," VII, 373.

Porto Bango. See *Bangoe*, settlement.

Querimba Islands, five islands sixty leagues north of Mozambique, III, 464, 465. These are the islands in Mazimba Bay, fifty miles south of Cape Delgada, and one hundred and eighty miles north of Mozambique. On modern maps.

Quilimane River, the northern mouth of the Zambesi River, "at one hundred leagues from Mozambique down the coast," II, 406, "which is ninety leagues distant from Mozambique," III, 353, 466; VI, 365, on which river is the settlement of Quilimane; also named "Bons Sinães," or river of "Good Omens," and known to the natives as Kwa-kwa River, III, 220; VII, 252, 253, 304. On modern maps. See *Kwa-Kwa*, *Quilimane*.

Quilimane, settlement, factory, fort, and mission on the north bank of the Quilimane River, and four leagues from its mouth, I, 346-354; II, 406, 407, 437; III, 466; IV, 138; VII, 304, etc. On modern maps at fourteen miles from mouth of river.

Quiloa. See *Kilwa*.

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Quinta, lands in Mocaranga granted to Dominicans, IV, 109. No location stated, but believed to be at or near Beroma, the present R.C. mission.

Quipanga, on Zambesi, where Luabo and Quilimane rivers branch off, I, 350; III, 467. On modern maps Shupanga is shown at this point.

Quissanga, the north-west district of the kingdom of the Quiteve, a mountainous country adjoining Manica, VII, 378, containing gold and copper mines, also the mountain of Mongoma, or Magomo, where the kings of Quiteve are buried; also the chief *zimbaoe* of the king of Quiteve at Gaonhé, VII, 218, 378, and the upper waters of the Ruvoe [Revue], which, rising in Manica, flows into the Bazi [Buzi], VII, 374; it was south of and adjoined Baroe, III, 487, and general.

The Quissanga *zimbaoe* of the Quiteve was at Gaonhé, VII, 378, near the Ruvoe, fifteen days' journey from Sofala, two days from Manica, and gold mines of Manica, and near the inaccessible Magomo mountains, I, 29; VI, 388, 389; VII, 218. It was "built entirely of wood and straw," VI, 389, and was burnt down by Homem, I, 29; VI, 388. See *Magomo*, *Quiteve*, *Ruvoe*, *Bazi*, *Baroe*, *Manica*, *Gaonhé*. C. *Kwizi*=river. *Sanga*=laughter, a noisy stream or river flowing down mountains.

Quitangine, two square leagues of land on mainland opposite Mozambique Island, belonging to Portuguese, III, 463. Calundi, Chuambo, and Sancula are mentioned in connection with Quitangine, and these are shown on modern maps as Calombo, Lumbo, and Sanculo respectively. See *Sanculo*.

Quiteve. The kingdom of the Quiteve was east and south-east of Manica, extending to the coast at Sofala, I, 29; III, 487; V, 185, being between Sofala and Manica, VII, 200. The Portuguese "could not reach the mines [of Manica from Sofala] without passing through the whole kingdom of Quiteve, the king of the lands between Sofala and Manica," VII, 217. "Sofala is the door and entrance to the gold mines in Manica," IV, 233. The river Tendanculo [Tendaculo] forms the northern boundary near

the coast, VII, 233, 252, 274, 275, 286, 355; the kingdom of Baroe [Barue] on the due north; and Manica on the north-west, II, 414; III, 486, 487, 488; VII, 233, 275, and general; the kingdom of Biri, which was south of Manica, forming a portion towards the north of its western boundary, VII, 233, 275. From the context, it is evident that the main western boundary was formed by the escarpment of the great central plateau which runs north and south from Inyanga to below the Sabi. On the south it was bounded by the kingdom of Sabia (Sedanda), VI, 391. The kingdom extended from north to south for twenty days' journey, and from east to west twelve days, VII, 378.

The north-west district was called Quissanga. The people of Quiteve were Mocaranga, being "handsome men," VI, 206, and spoke "a most polished language," VII, 289, but the people along parts of the coast were Botonga, VII, 274.

On the arrival of the Portuguese (1505) a tradition prevailed among the natives that an ancient *monomotapa* had sent three of his sons to rule over his vassal kingdoms of Manica, Quiteve, and Sabia, or Sedanda, respectively, and that upon his death the three sons rebelled against their eldest brother, who had become the *monomotapa*, and the three kingdoms became separate and independent, III, 482; VI, 391; VII, 273, 378, etc. The kingdom of Quiteve was second in power only to that of the *monomotapa*, I, 29; VI, 387. The dynastic title of the king was Quiteve, VI, 391, VII, 273, 378. Mambo was also one of the royal titles of the king, VII, 381. The last Quiteve, Fika, died in 1803, VII, 378.

The *zimbaoes*, or residences, of the Quiteve were (1) at Gaonhé, VII, 378, near the Ruvoe [Revue River], fifteen days from Sofala, two days from Manica and gold mines, and near "the inaccessible mountains" of Magomo, I, 29; VI, 388, 389; VII, 218. It was "built entirely of wood and straw," VI, 389, and was burnt down by Homem, I, 29; VI, 388; (2) at Ussema, three days from Sofala, VII, 378; and (3) at Hanganhé in High Quiteve, three days' journey from Ussema and seven from Sofala, VII, 378. On the accession

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of a king, homage was paid to him at Inhamatar, VII, 382. The burial-place of the kings of Quiteve was on the mountain called Magomo, or Mugomo, VII, 196, 218, 381.

For mountains in the Kingdom of the Quiteve see *Gembe* [*Ujembí*], *Dombo*, *Magoma*; for rivers see *Bazi* [*Buzi*], *Ruvoe* [*Revue*], “*The River of Sofala*, *Urema* [*Urema*], *Masapa* [*Rusapa*, *Musapa*], *Mumhingi*, *Tova*, *Missangji*, *Mapura*, *Chitasse*, *Donda*, *Chissamba*, *Machanga* [*Muchange*], *Inhampápa*, *Bango* [*Bangue*, *Pongoe*, *Pungwe*], *Poco*, *Zamboe*, *Tendanculo* [*Tendacula*]; for districts see *Quissanga*, *Bandire*, and *Sofala*.

Quizinga Mountains, near Masapa, “near our markets of Manzovo [Mazoe].” Gurapaza was the chief of Quizinga; he defeats the Portuguese at Bocuto, I, 39; III, 365, 371, 379–383.

Quizinguo, see *Kwizungo*.

Rassina. See *Russina*.

Reys, *Rio Dos*, or Copper River (Limpopo), enters Indian Ocean south of Cape Correntes; the kingdom of Inhapula being on the south side and that of Manusa on the north side; also near the coast, II, 202, has a large estuary, I, 142, and general. See *Dos Reys River*.

Romba, *Rombaz*, vassal lands of Mocaranga, in Mongas territory, on the Manzovo [Mazoe] and near Zambesi. The chief was called Romba. Lands stated to “comprehend Lupata.” A town called Hamboa was in Romba’s lands, and near banks of Zambesi, III, 477; VI, 379, 380. From context Hamboa was one day’s journey from a place where Barretto’s expedition rested, after having journeyed three days from the place where the Mongas had been defeated. See *Mongas*, *Hamboa*, *Rombo*.

Rombo, vassal lands of Mocaranga on south side of Zambesi from Tete to Lupata, called also Inhamacarenga. Is identical with Romba, III, 379. See *Romba*.

Rufumba Lake, on north side of Zambesi just below Lupala Gorge. Hot springs of Maembe near, also the grove and burial-place at Chipanga, VII, 264, 265. On modern maps as Rofumbo. See *Maembe*, *Chipanga*.

Russini, vassal lands of Mocaranga. No location stated, but from context near Manica boundary. Chief was Inharucas, III, 356. Also written Rassina, I, 23.

Ruvoe [Revue], a tributary on left or north bank of the Bazi [Buzi]; rises in the mountains of Quissanga and traverses the kingdom of the Quiteve, III, 479; VII, 374. See *Bazi, Quissanga, "River of Sofala."*

Sabanda. See *Sabia*.

Sabia, Sedanda or Sabanda. This kingdom was bounded on the north by the kingdom of the Quiteve, VI, 391; VII, 378, and extended along the coast from some point below Sofala to the river Inhambane, VII, 274, 275, the kingdom of Otongwe being immediately south of that river, VII, 286. [In the French map of 1719 the Kingdom of Saba is shown to be south of the kingdom of Quiteve and north of the kingdom of Otongwe.] The kingdom comprised "the famous river of Sabia," III, 466, and "the lands traversed by the river Sabi, which flows into the Indian Ocean opposite the island of Bocicas," VII, 273. This kingdom was also called Sabanda, I, 23; Madanda, VII, 378, and was frequently mentioned as Sedanda. The people were Ma-Karanga, VII, 193, but on the coast (as in the kingdom of Quiteve), and near the Inhambane River adjoining the kingdom of Otongue, or Ba-Tonga, they were Ba-Tonga, II, 66; VII, 274, 286.

On the arrival of the Portuguese in 1505 a tradition prevailed among the natives that an ancient *monomotapa* had sent three of his sons to rule over his vassal kingdoms of Manica, Quiteve, and Sabia, or Sedanda respectively, and that upon his death the three sons rebelled against their eldest brother, who had become the *monomotapa*, and the three kingdoms became separate and independent, III, 482; VI, 391; VII, 273, 378, etc.

The records are absolutely silent as to this kingdom, for with the exception of the Portuguese trading station, founded at a late date, at Mabone at the mouth of the Sabi, to which no reference was made until after 1735, there is no mention of a single place-name, nor description of the country or of its people. A place called Chinjamira, from

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the context located in Sabia, was "supposed" to exist, but the Portuguese stated, VII, 377, 378, they had not been there to confirm the rumour as to its distance from Sofala. The Portuguese do not appear to have ascended the Sabi, and the trade at the coast, the records show, was carried on by the natives, who took "ivory, ambergris, sesame and other vegetables," themselves to the trading station, there being no reference to any trade in gold.

Sabia River, "the famous river of Sabia," thirty leagues south of Sofala, III, 466. On modern maps as Sabi. See *Sabia*. See also *Point of Intrusion of Foreign Influence in Pre-historic Times was the Sabi River, and not the Zambesi River*.

Sacumbe, a mountain "which is very rugged and full of copper mines," III, 385, at eastern end of Kebra-basa Rapids, and on the north side of Zambesi, which is navigable above Tete up to Sacumbe, III, 402, but not above Sacumbe for twenty-four leagues owing to the rapids, I, 353; there was a kraal at this point also called Sacumbe, III, 402. Marenga, a chief of lands between the rapids and Tete, on the north side of the river, fortified himself on this mountain, III, 385. See *Marenga*.

Sagoe, a village close to Sofala fort on the west side, III, 123, 124.

Sanculo, a district on the mainland opposite Mozambique Island, III, 464. On modern maps. See *Quitangine*.

Sane. See *Osanya*.

Sebastian Cape San, north of Inhambane, II, 219. On modern maps.

Sena, a fort, market, and mission on the south bank of the Zambesi in Mocaranga; was in the vassal kingdom of Baroe, and in the lands of Inhamioy, a sub-chief in Baroe, I, 22, 353, 394, 395; II, 222, 410, 437; III, 472; VII, 268, at sixty leagues from the sea, I, 361; II, 409; seven days' journey from the coast, II, 437; and sixty leagues below Tete, II, 413. Sena was sometimes called Fort St. Marçal, I, 26; III, 472; VI, 369. At Sena was a dense population on both sides of the river, on the north side of Bororo, and on the south side of Botonga, I,

352. The road from Sena to the mines of Mocaranga lay through the territory of the Mongasi, I, 26, and the road to the mines of Manica passed through that of Baroe, II, 411, which adjoined Sena, II, 411. The jurisdiction of Sena extended from the coast to Aroinha [Aruenha=Ruenya], where that of Tete commenced, II, 410; III, 474. See *Baroe, Inhamioy*.

Sofala, town and port on "a bay which has many sand-banks and reefs," VII, 376; on a river [Chitasse] which was "not very large," I, 93. There are numerous references to the dangerous character of the bar at Sofala, the records containing several statements that ships could not enter the port. Pedro Barreto's ship was wrecked on the bar "in sight of the fortress," I, 105; II, 40. The town of Sofala was established by Arabs of Magadodoxo in the eleventh century, and later it came into the possession of the kings of Kilwa, VI, 273; was first visited by the Portuguese in 1487, I, 2; III, 141, who described it as a "village," I, 93; a factory and fort were established by the Portuguese in 1505, I, 14, 62; III, 33 *et seq.*; III, 122 *et seq.* Isuf, the Arab sheik of Sofala, was killed in 1505. The fort was erected between Sagoe and another village which was close to the mouth of the river on the north side, this latter village being the Moorish settlement which was "about four hundred yards east-south-east of Sofala," VII, 124, 371. Inhasato [Inhacata] island was at the mouth of the river on the south side, and was "opposite Sofala at the distance of one league," VII, 348, 351, 352. Sofala is shown on all modern maps. See *Inhasato, Sagoe, Chitasse*.

"**Sofala, The River of.**" "The river of Sofala rises one hundred leagues inland, and passes by a city called Zimbaoe, where Quiteve always dwells." "The inhabitants of Sofala navigate this river and carry their merchandise to Manica," VI, 185. "The river of Sofala descends from Manica, III, 479; VII, 374. "Quiteve, lord of the river of Sofala," VII, 354. "The river which crosses the lands of Quiteve," VI, 388. Homem's expedition from Sofala to Masapa (but which reached Manica only) "journeyed sometimes by land and sometimes navigated up the the river of Sofala," VII,

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217. The Quiteve declares "the river of Sofala" free to the Portuguese trade between Sofala and Manica, VII, 219. It was the overland route from Sofala to Mocaranga, and passed through the present Umtali (see pp. 214-216).

"The River of Sofala" was certainly the Bazi [Buzi] and its tributary the Ruvoe [Revue], which has its source in Manica, III, 479; VII, 374, and its upper waters in Quissanga, VII, 374. This river is nearer to Sofala than the Bango [Pungwe], which rises in Inyanga, and it is the more direct course, as the Bango passes too far east away from the district identified as Quissanga; besides which, it is very rarely mentioned in the records, and its tributaries and places along its course are not stated. The Bazi and Ruvoe are very frequently mentioned, their tributaries are named and can be identified, they had several important towns and lands along their banks, and they possessed a large boat traffic in grain along seventy miles of their lower waters. See *Bazi* [Buzi], *Ruvoe* [Revue].

Tambara, lands in Quiteve, north of Sofala and south of Chupanga [Shupanga], and mentioned in connection with Gobira, III, 467, 487. On modern maps Tambara is shown in Quiteve, and as thirty miles north of Pungwe and east of the Gorongoza mountains, and Geuveia as twenty miles north of Tambara. See *Geuveia*.

Tambara, lands within the jurisdiction of Sena, on south side of Zambesi, III, 467, let to Portuguese settlers on quit-rent, V, 93. On modern maps Tambara, a district, is south of and close to Zambesi at fifty miles north-west of Sena, and within the jurisdiction of Sena; is mentioned also in connection with it. See *Sena*.

Tane, Tano, a district two leagues from Chicova fort, where there were silver mines, people were Mabangos [? Ba-Senga], and its two rulers were Cherengue and Tambarica, III, 411. Probably north of Zambesi, opposite Chicova, where Basenga still occupy, this part being marked Senga country on Livingstone's map.

Tebe, "a small river which runs through a fine wood more than a league in breadth," very tall trees "without knots," of which the natives hollowed out boats of one

piece. This river was just south of the Tendanculo River, the northern boundary of Quiteve near the coast, VII, 252. "The forests of Tebe are between Sofala and the rivers of Cuama [mouths of the Zambesi]," VII, 278. Tevi-Tevi is a district immediately south of Tendanculo (Tendaculo) River, and shown on modern maps. C. *Tebe*=*a bog*. *Tevi-Tevi*=*very boggy*. See *Tendanculo*.

Tendanculo, a river flowing into the sea north of Bangue [Pungwe] River; forms the north-eastern boundary near the coast of the kingdom of Quiteve, and the southern boundary of the strip of Mocaranga which extends to the coast between this river and the Luabo River, which are twelve leagues from each other, VI, 391; VII, 252, 274, 286, 355. On modern maps this river is shown in this position and given as Tendaculo. The river, which rises in the Nyamonga mountains, flows into the sea at sixty miles north-east of Pungwe River, and thirty miles south-west of West Luabo River.

Terr, a kraal in Mongazi, south of the Zambesi below Tete, near Manzovo [Mazoe] River, and reached by Francis Barretto, 1572, on the next day after his concluding peace with the Mongasi, and on his return journey to the Zambesi below Lupata Gorge, III, 243, 244.

Tete, a town, fort, market, and mission on the south bank of the Zambesi, I, 22, 35, 38, 352; II, 414, 438; IV, 71, etc.; VI, 366; "situated in the territory of the kingdom of Mocaranga," and was sixty leagues up the Zambesi from Sena, II, 438, and was "one hundred and twenty leagues up the river" from the coast, II, 226; VI, 368. In 1592 the captaincy of Tete included vassal lands which extended for three leagues round the fort, I, 35; the jurisdiction of Tete extended down the Zambesi to the Aruenya [Ruenia] River, II, 413. It also served as the trading station for Maravi country, which adjoined it on the north bank of the Zambesi (Lacerda, 1798; Livingstone, 1856).

Tongue. See *Otongue*.

Toróa or **Toro**, territory containing "the most ancient mines known in the country" (De Barros, VI, 267). The

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"very ancient" stone building with "tower," "wall," and "inscription" (undoubtedly Great Zimbabwe) was near "the vast plains [the extensive Victoria and Enkeldorn high veld known as the Range] of Toróa," "but the edifice is almost surrounded by hills" [as at Zimbabwe]. Alvarez (1600) writes: "Here in Toróa are till this day remaining many huge and ancient buildings . . . Here is also a mighty wall," etc. Toróa or Toro is not mentioned, not even by tradition, as belonging to or being in Mocaranga, nor is it mentioned among the twenty-three kingdoms of Mocaranga named in 1556 (III, 355, 356). In the records it is always associated with the kingdom of Sabia, which kingdom lay to the south-east of Mocaranga, and which was "traversed" by the river Sabi, VII, 273. Great Zimbabwe is in the Sabi watershed. As shown on p. 47, the Portuguese never penetrated Sabia, and never visited Zimbabwe, of the existence of which up to 1721 (see p. 109) only a report was current. Toróa, or Toro, was in one instance only associated with Butua, "Bushmen's country," but Butua was but a general expression for all the country west and south of Mocaranga. Though not the first Bantu to cross to the south of the Zambesi, the Ma-Karanga are believed, on ethnological and philological grounds, to have been the first Bantu people to have settled on the ancient mines and ruins' area, and also to have driven the Bushmen from it towards the south and west. This was probably between 800 and 1000 A.D., or a little later. C *Toro*, or *Toróa=ancient*. Authenticated tradition of the Ma-Karanga states that Zimbabwe was built by *Ba-ntorontoro* (C. = *very ancient people*), but they do not know who they were or how they disappeared (see Chapter V, p. 151). Both Toróa, or Toro, and Butua contain the oldest rock mines to be found in Southern Rhodesia, and comprised most probably the gold-belts of Belingwe, Gwanda, and Selukwe, and also the old district of Mavi or Mali, which lies between Zimbabwe and Belingwe.

Tova, a river in Quiteve, VII, 379. No position stated. On modern maps is Towa, a tributary of the Revue.

GAZETTEER, 915-1760

Tshikanga. See *Manica*.

Umba. See *Bumba*.

Urema, a river tributary to the Bangoe [Pungwe] on its left bank; the name Urema is also given to the lower waters of the Bangoe below its junction with the Urema; the River Urema has its rise at Macaia [Mukwa], VII, 373, 374. Urema is on all modern maps as "Urema, Mukum-bezi or Mukwa." It rises in the Urema Flats between the Pungwe and Zambesi. Mukwa is the name of the upper waters of this river.

Urupandé, "a market a month's journey in the interior south of Tete, where there are rich gold mines." Simoens was robbed here, III, 383. "The lands of Urupande" are stated to be north of Zimba district, which is north of Butna, III, 356. This would be reached from Tete through the Chidima country, which in the records was north-east of Butna, and is so marked on Livingstone's map. Urupande, therefore, would be in the present Lo Maghonda district south of Dambarare. See *Zimba*.

Uruvy River flows into the Zambesi on the north bank at Kebra-basa Rapids, and was between the kraals of Muzunga and Sacossera on the road from Tete to Chicova along the north side of the rapids, III, 403. On Lacerda's map (Murray, 1873) Ruy River is marked in this position.

Ussema, a *zimbaoe* or residence of the king of Quiteve, three days' journey from Sofala, VII, 378. No location stated. See *Hanganhé*.

Vuhuca, a district in the kingdom of Sabia, on the coast opposite Bazaruta Islands, and near Mabone, which is at the mouth of the Sabi River; its people were Botonga, VII, 379, 381. See *Mabone*.

Vumba. See *Bumba*.

Xironde, a place on the Bazi (Buzi) River, from whence rice grown in Mungova was sent in canoes to Sofala, VII, 372, 376; considered by present Portuguese to be identical with present Kohonda at junction of Buzi and Revue Rivers. See *Mungova*.

Zambezi River, sometimes called Cuama or "five mouths," Rios de Sena, V, 168; also by natives Empando, VII,

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274; references very general. See *Cabarbaça, Cabreza, Chicova, Chiri, Cuama, Lupata, Manzovo, Ruenya, Sena, Tete*.

Zero. See *Bazi*.

Zimba. The territory of Zimba adjoined Butna on the north, and the lands of Urupande were north of Zimba. These two places, Urupande and Zimba, were in Mocaranga, III, 356 [in Lo Maghonda district]. See *Butna, Urupande*.

Zimbabwe. See *Torba, or Toro*, also Chapter IX.

Zivy, village in Bororo on north bank of Zambezi, "one day's journey from Chicova" towards Tete, also "six leagues from Chicova," and half way between Nhumbo and Sacossera kraals, and slightly inland from Kebra-basa Rapids, III, 403, 425-7. On Livingstone's map there is Ziba Vale shown in this position.

Zomba, a district in Quiteve, and north of Sofala, granted by the Quiteve in 1735 to Pinha Soares, VII, 375. It adjoins Mungova [Mugova], which is south of Bazi [Buzi], and is separated from it by "a small river called Inhaconda which surrounds it," VII, 375. See *Mungova*.

Zumbo, a fort established by Pereira, "The Terror" (Livingstone's *Tributaries*, p. 205), on the north bank of the Zambezi, and on east side of Loangwa River, where it joins the Zambezi, at about one hundred and ten miles above Chicova and one mile below the present Zumbo, which is on the west side of the Loangwa. In 1749 it was a mission and possessed a church, V, 215.

Tete to Chicova.

ROUTES, 1614, III, 396, 397, 401-403, 420, 425, 430.

The Cabarbaça, or Kebra-basa Rapids, on the Zambezi, lying between Tete and Chicova; the river was not navigable, all traffic being overland between these points.

SOUTH BANK: AMPANE (three leagues from Tete, first day); BUNGO (second day, near MUFA RIVER, III, 432);

ANTEVARA (third); DOSSA (fourth); CHIBUE (fifth); CHIDIMA Kraal (sixth); MATANDANDUVA (seventh); DINDE (eighth); and CHICOVA (ninth) day.

NORTH BANK: EMPANGO [Emponga], INHAMPURY (opposite CACHENGUE), SACOENDA (east end of rapids), CAMBACOTE, MUZUNAGA (here the river URUVY enters Zambesi from north), CHUPIRY and CHIPIRIZIVA are left to the south, as road leaves river here to avoid hills on northern bank, SACOSSERA, ZIVY, NHUMBO, MOTAVA, CHURUE, and cross Zambesi at SAPOE'S kraal to CHICOVA.

Tete to Kilwa.

JOURNEY OF GASPAR BOCARRO, March 1616, III, 416
et seq.

Left TETE, crossed Zambesi to BORORO; (second day) INHAMPURY; (third) BAUE; (sixth) DANDA; (seventh) BUNGA and MARANY, Muzura's chief kraal; (next day) "near this town is the great river MANGANJA, which looks like the sea [Lake Nyassa]," from which flows the NHANHA (Chiri, Shiré) into the Zambesi below Sena; goes north along NHANHA River for one day; next day crosses NHANHA and goes north along river to CARAMBOE and slept there; next day dined at MOCAMA and slept at MOGOMBE; next day slept at MACHAMBE, in the territory of Manguro; spent next night at MUZUNGUIRA; next night at chief kraal of CHICOAVE near River RUAMBARA; spent next night at CHIPANGA, reached CHANGUESSA during day and spent night in desert; passed through the village of MAKANO at daytime and slept at RUPAPA, of which Quitenga was chief; slept following night in a thicket and next day went along ROFUMA River, sleeping in village of MAUANGONGO, and crossed in boats. From Rofuma to the coast the country is ruled by Manhangha. Next night slept at DARAMA; next night at DAVIA; next night at chief kraal of MANHANGA; travelled seven days through a deserted country devastated by the Zimbas. After those seven days he reached CHIPONDA'S kraal, then travelled

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four days through desert country and reached PONDE, thence to MORENGUE. Four days further through desert land he reached BUCURY, "a village of the Moors," and slept there, and at mid-day following day reached the coast and crossed to KILWA, which was opposite.

The journey on foot occupied fifty-three days, but his native porters returned to Tete in twenty-five days.

APPENDIX

SYNOPSIS OF A LECTURE ON "PRE-HISTORIC RHODESIA AND THE ORIGIN AND AGE OF ITS MONUMENTS," DELIVERED BY THE AUTHOR ON MARCH 30, 1909, IN THE GRAND HOTEL HALL, BULAWAYO, IN AID OF THE FUNDS OF THE PUBLIC LIBRARY.

(Reprinted from the *Rhodesia Journal*.)

THE lecturer offered a cordial recognition of Professor Maciver's most scholarly thesis on the Rhodesia ruins, and, however completely, he claimed, all must disagree with his main conclusions, still, he acknowledged all were deeply indebted to Professor Maciver for having thrown inquirers on the necessity for re-examining their evidence as to the antiquity of the remains.

The Rhodesian Phenomena.

Rhodesia presented certain phenomena, or outstanding features, not found elsewhere in Africa south of the Nile regions. These phenomena were :—

1. The most extensive gold mines sunk to depth on rock during some pre-historic times yet known to the world.
2. Many scores of colossal buildings of dressed stone blocks.
3. A form of nature-worship ceremonial unknown among any past or present Bantu people, being of a decidedly pre-Koranic character.
4. Semitic impressions dating from some pre-Koranic times found among the Ma-Karanga.
5. The presence in Rhodesia only of non-indigenous plants and trees, mainly of Indian and Malayan origin.

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All these phenomena are displayed on one area only, the gold regions of Southern Rhodesia, 700 by 600 miles, never separately, but always in intimate association, which pointed to their community in origin.

Each of the phenomena were then described with the aid of views, maps and plans thrown on the screen.

The Origin of the Phenomena.

The lecturer then inquired whether there was anything in the history of South-east Africa which could possibly explain the *origin* of such phenomena. Failing such explanation, they would be entitled to claim for them a pre-historic origin, that is, that they dated from some altogether indefinite time prior to A.D. 915–994 years ago, when the written history of the gold regions of Southern Rhodesia commences, when Rhodesia had a thriving and previously long-established export trade of gold with Arabia, Persia and India, and of ivory with far-distant China, a trade which many scientists hold was but a survival of a commerce in gold which Rhodesia enjoyed even before the commencement of the Christian era.

A series of maps were shown illustrating the gradual advances of the Bantu and Hottentots to south of the Zambesi, the pressing of the aborigine Bushmen into isolated mountain districts, until by stages both Bantu and Hottentot races had arrived at the Cape.

A further series of maps dating from A.D. 160, including those of Roman, Arabian, Persian and Indian geographers proved that the gold regions of Rhodesia were within the ken of the ancients, a fact which was established on definite historical statement, and also on ethnological, anthropological, and philological *data*, and also by the internal evidences provided by the various phenomena presented in Rhodesia. History shows that the kings of Saba (Seeba) were in undisturbed possession of South-east Africa as late as A.D. 35, and had apparently been in their possession for centuries previous to A.D. 35.

APPENDIX

Evidences from Rock Mines.

The pre-historic rock mines of Rhodesia cover an area of 700 by 600 feet, honeycombed to 150 and 200 feet in depth, or to water-level, sunk on hard, refractory rock, from which, on a conservative estimate, it was believed by experts, that no less than £75,000,000 worth of gold had been extracted in pre-historic times.

Professors Sir C. Le Neve Foster and W. J. Gregory and other experts on ancient mining operations, as well as almost a hundred local consulting mining engineers have expressed opinion to the following effect :—

1. Most of the large and deep mines of the Selukwe, Gwanda, Belingwe, Sabi and Manica districts are undoubtedly ancient, while those in the Mazoe district are of both pre-historic and mediæval times.
2. The operations of the ancients covered many centuries of time, and the country was worked area by area from the coast.
3. The gold regions were approached by the Sabi river and not by the Zambesi.
4. The mining operations were under one supreme direction, the methods of mining being identical, and, further, identical with mining methods of ancient miners in Arabia and India.
5. The mining operations were carried on in stable times, there being no interruptions or periods of cessation.
6. All the gold extracted was for export, none being used locally.
7. The skill in mining rivals that of modern miners and was introduced by foreign Asiatic influence, and was not evolved by any local people unaided by foreign suggestions.
8. That, just as negroids copied in crude from the older stone buildings, so negroids have scratched and worked at the old mines, but the operations of such later negroids were mainly confined to soil and river-sand washing for alluvial gold.
9. That the arrival of the barbarous Bantu hordes from

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the north put a final stop to the deeper rock-mining operations.

10. When the rock-mines were sunk, no bartering for gold was necessary.

11. Some of the mine labour employed was Indian.

12. No imported mediæval article, or any Bantu article, has ever been discovered in any of the oldest rock mines.

Evidences from Stone Buildings.

(a) The original Zimbabwe type; finest construction; granite blocks dressed by chisels and hammers; elaborate drainage system; evidences of nature worship, birds on beams, conical tower, ornate phalli, cylinder or *linga*, sun images, monoliths; foreign decorative designs; oldest class of relics, such as *astragali* ingot mould; great wealth in chaste gold ornaments; no woodwork left.

(b) N'Natali, Dhlo-dhlo and Khami type, evidencing a decadence in construction and relic from the Zimbabwe type; built on terrace system; no phallic worship; no birds, phalli, or tower; no old Zimbabwe relic; introduction of later angular features of construction; no drainage system; only Bantu relics of a superior make to those of to-day; poorer building construction; Kafirisation in construction reached.

(c) The Inyanga type: poor construction; no courses; stones undressed and all sizes and shapes mixed; shell faces to walls; interior portions of walls filled in with rubble; monoliths, no phallic emblems; no old relics; only old Bantu articles; do not contain a grain of gold; evidences in shelter-pits and aqueducts of old Zaide Arab influence of the tenth and eleventh centuries.

(d) Bantu type of building: all over Rhodesia, but mainly on summits of hills; mere rough barricades of rudely piled-up stones; some not 200 years old, a few even later; articles of Kafir make resembling those made to-day; the builders being old Ma-Karanga, Leghoya and Ma-Lemba.

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Rock Mines and Buildings: Summary.

There were, beyond all possible shadow of doubt, three periods of both mining and building in Rhodesia.

1st period. The rock-mining or pre-historic period ; the ruins erected in this period being of the finest construction and full of gold.

2nd period. The river-sand washing for gold, partly pre-historic and partly historic, the ruins being poor and Kafirisation reached, and containing no gold or phallic emblem.

3rd period. Native-made barricades on hills and stone walls of cattle-kraals. Washing for gold abandoned.

Thus, we have the oldest, deepest and largest rock mine associated in locality with the finest and oldest buildings. Further, we have the poorest buildings and the crudest mining operations associated together on identically the same areas, all these latter being of a much later date. Finally, we have the arts of both building and mining so sunk in decadence that pure Kafirisation is ultimately reached.

Evidences of Semitic Impressions on Ma-Karanga.

These exist in the physical and linguistic features, showing that in pre-historic times Semitic influences, by a mixture of blood, was exerted on the Ma-Karanga. The lecturer mentioned over forty distinctly Semitic customs found among the Ma-Karanga, most of these being of pre-Koranic origin. Livingstone and all European scientists consider these as dating from some altogether indefinite time prior to the Koran—A.D. 600—and as such cannot be explained by any influence as late as that of the Islamic influence of the tenth and eleventh centuries.

The only two working hypotheses.

In seeking for the origin of the phenomena displayed in Rhodesia there are, said the lecturer, only two working hypotheses.

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1. The one, and this was adopted by Professor Maciver, that the culture displayed in rock-mining, building and ceremonial, is "characteristically African," and was solely resultant of the natural evolution of the Bantu left entirely to his own resources.

2. The other hypothesis—the one advanced by the lecturer nine years ago—the importation of Asiatic culture in its most perfect form consequent upon the exploitation of Rhodesia for gold by Arabs, Persians and Indians in prehistoric times, the display of rock-mining for centuries which resulted in the importation and display of the art of building in dressed stone, and of the Zimbabwe ceremonial. After the display of this Asiatic culture on a most colossal scale, it met with sudden catastrophe, either caused by the withdrawal of the sustaining foreign influence or by the arrival of the hordes of Bantu barbarians from the north, who, knowing nothing of the value of gold, or of building in stone—having never in their own areas mined for gold or placed a stone upon a stone—or of the Zimbabwe ceremonial, put a final termination to the original mining and building operations. Left entirely to their own resources, the Bantu copied in very crude form the Zimbabwe style of building, washed soil and river-sand for gold instead of mining on the rock to depth, until both in building and gold extraction they reached pure Kafirisation, and the plan and construction of the Zimbabwe Temple became dissolved into the ringed ramparts of rudely piled-up stone to be found on all the hills in the country.

Thus, the ruins are not all of the same age, but belong to totally different periods, each succeeding period being marked by a great change in culture. Zimbabwe, old as it undoubtedly is, does not mark or determine the date of the arrival of the Asiatic influences on these areas, no more than the cathedral now being erected at Capetown does not mark or determine the date of the arrival of the European influence at the Cape, which took place centuries ago. The Zimbabwe temple is but a resultant phase of the earlier rock-mining operations of the Asiatics.

The massive stone portals of Zimbabwe are not "the

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translations in stone of the principles of construction of a Kafir hut," and are not the evolved reproduction of the creep-hole and dog-kennel entrances to the Kafir huts as shown on Egyptian monuments or as seen in any Kafir kraal to-day. Nor is the temple but "*a glorified Kafir kraal*," or its symmetrical conical tower "*a Kafir freak of construction*," a mere *symbol of the favourite wife of a Kafir chief*.

The Zimbabwe culture but shared the inevitable fate of all civilisations imported on to the African continent, whether at Carthage or Egypt. So long as the foreign connection was sustained so long did they exist, but on the connection being disturbed, certain overburden and subsequent oblivion were their inevitable fate.

This working hypothesis announced by the lecturer nine years ago still holds the field unchallenged. The archæological measles of three years ago, which was caused by Professor Maciver's lack of first-hand knowledge of Bantu, rock-mine and building, has now run its normal course, and there is not a single Bantu authority who believes for one moment in Professor Maciver's hazarded hypothesis of "*the natural and unaided evolution of the negroid*."

The lecturer, by means of views, plans and sections demonstrated his hypothesis of the decadence from the Zimbabwe culture in mine, building and relic, until complete Kafirisation was ultimately reached. As Mr. Dudley Kidd and Dr. Theal, and a score of the leading Bantu scholars have recently proved, there has been no super-Kafir race in South-east Africa within the periods of Professor Maciver's datings of the phenomena, and that his main conclusions fall to the ground, being absolutely untenable by those who have any respect for science, which is "the logic of observed fact."

Mediæval Historic References.

Mr. Hall, then turning to Arab, Persian and Portuguese histories, said that written documents did not explain the origin of the Zimbabwe culture and showed—

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1. That, in 1560, all the Portuguese writers who lived in Rhodesia declared the rock mines to be *ancient* and *most ancient*, all the references crediting them as having been sunk in Solomonic times.

2. That, in 1560, all the Portuguese writers stated explicitly that the stone buildings were "*ruins*," "*ancient ruins*," "*very ancient*," and describe them as *foundations of palaces and castles*." The Zimbabwe temple, at some indefinite time between the eleventh century and 1500, was described as "*very ancient*," the natives having no tradition either as to the erection of the temple or even of the people who had occupied it.

But did the natives of 400 years ago build in stone? De Barros wrote, "*The people being barbarians, all their houses are of wood*." Dos Santos wrote, "*The king has a great palace, though of wood*." Bacarro wrote, "*The kings have no fortresses or walled cities*." Monclaros wrote, "*They (the natives) have never raised stone upon stone to build a house or wall*."

Professor Maciver's hazarded suggestion that Zimbabwe was "*the Monomotapan capital*" must fail, for in 1505, and centuries earlier, it was definitely stated to have been at Mazoe, 450 miles away, and his further statement that "*gold-working Kafirs lived in stone cities*" is not only unwarranted, but disproved by all the Portuguese historians who lived in Rhodesia.

The lecturer discussed the Ophir theory, and the numerous parallels in building and ceremonial existing between Zimbabwe and the country round the Persian Gulf, and also in India.

There was a very large attendance at the Lecture, and Mr. Hall was accorded an enthusiastic vote of thanks, which was moved by Mr. Franklin White, the President of the Rhodesian Scientific Association. At the request of the audience Mr. Hall consented to repeat the lecture on an early date.

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